

MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS:

V I Z.

- I. The History of the Expulsion of the *Moris-
coes*, or *Mahometans* of the *Moorish* Race,
out of *Spain*, in the Reign of *Philip III*.
- II. The History of the Wars of the Commons
of *Castile*, in the Beginning of the Reign of
the Emperor *Charles V*.
- III. A View of the *Spanish Cortes*, or Parliament.
- IV. An Account of the Manuscripts and Re-
liques found in the Mountains of *Granada*,
1588. .
- V. A View of the Inquisition of *Portugal*; with
a List of the Prisoners which came out of the
Inquisition of *Lisbon*, in an *Act of the Faith*,
celebrated *Anno 1682*. And another in 1707.
- VI. A Narrative of the Proceedings of the In-
quisition in *Lisbon*, with a Person now living
in *London*, during his Imprisonment there.
- VII. A *Spanish* Protestant Martyrology.

The Second Edition corrected, with Additions.

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and Chancellor of the Church of Sarum.

L O N D O N,

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THE HISTORY OF THE

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PREFACE.

T*Hough the General Expulsion of the Moriscoes out of Spain was one of the greatest Revolutions of the last Age, yet partly through the Shortness of those Accounts that are given of it in the general History of that Kingdom, and partly by reason that the Books*
A 2 *which*

which have been published in Spanish concerning it, are all out of Print, and hard to come by, it is so little known, that I cannot say that I have met with many among the Curious in History, that knew much more of it, than that it happen'd at such a time, and that Spain was thereby much depopulated and impoverish'd; being altogether in the dark as to the Pretences whereon it was executed, and by whom, and by what Methods it was promoted; and, in a word, as to most of its material Circumstances.

Wherefore, that so great and useful a Piece of History may not be

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be in a manner lost in this part of the World, after having with no small Trouble procured all, or most of the Books that were ever Printed concerning this tragical Expulsion, I did set myself to write as full an Account of it as the said Books would help me to; which having finish'd, I was the more forward to make publick, for that I believ'd it might be of great Use to our own, and to all other Protestant Governments, not to put 'em upon imitating so detestable a Practice, abhorr'd of God, contrary to Humanity, and to all good Policy; but that, detesting its Cruelty and Barbarity, they may be warned

warned by it, to be always on their Guard against an indefatigable Enemy, who, tho he may Promise, does never Give Quarter; and with whom a Protestant, a Jew, and a Mahometan, are all one and the same; no Cruelties being thought great enough for any of them, if they will not believe as the Roman Church believeth.

And tho I cannot but be sensible, that this Work might have been done to much more Advantage, by such as are skilful in writing History, had they had the same Materials, I can nevertheless affirm, That as to all Matters of Fact, it could

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could not have been done by any with more Faithfulness. And as to the Reflections I have made on such Matters, I shall only say, That had I not thought them to be Just, I should never have Publish'd them; but whether they are so, or not, the Readers must judge, to whose Candor I commit them.

E R.

ERRATA

PAGE 29. Line 26. for *generral* read *general*; p. 39. l. 15. for *to trade, or to buy and sell*, r. *from trading, or from buying and selling*; p. 48. l. 9. dele *he*; p. 94. l. 11. for *reyly'd* r. *replied*; ib. l. 19. after *that* put a Comma; p. 122. l. 25. for *Tindil* r. *Tindil*; p. 147. l. 2. for *those* r. *these*; p. 149. l. 15. for *was* r. *were*; p. 151. l. 2. for *and* r. *the*, and after *Government* r. *and*; p. 155. l. 3. for *Archbishop* r. *Archbishop's*; p. 162. l. ult. dele *who*; p. 163. l. 2. after *Christians* add *they*; ib. l. 4. for *having* r. *and have*; ib. l. 7. for *Councils* r. *Counsels*; p. 187. l. 21. after *that* add *as*; p. 188. l. 18. for *Extacy* r. *Ecstasy*; p. 189. l. 12. after *himself* add *so*; ibid. l. 13, 14. for *to comply therein with the Will of a Zealot*, r. *as to act at that time after the manner of a Zealot*; p. 199. l. ult. for *writ* r. *written*; p. 218. l. 7. for *or* r. *For*; p. 238. l. 2. for *became* r. *become*; p. 256. l. 15. d. *all*, l. 21. for *have* r. *had*; p. 281. l. 24. for *Villabaxim* r. *Villabraxim*; p. 288. l. 6. in *harrangu'd* d. r. p. 310. l. 10. for *law* r. *low*; p. 312. l. 19. d. *in*; p. 394. l. 7. for *as* r. *at*; p. 395. l. 16. for *pulvers* r. *pulveres*; p. 396. l. 11. put the Comma after *Thefiphon*; ib. l. ult. before *Maximinus* put *St.*; p. 401. l. 21. after *which* put a Comma; p. 417. l. 19. r. *Gregory*; p. 424. l. 15. after *twice* add *a Week*; ib. l. 30. after *It* add *is*; p. 438. l. 8. d. *but*; for p. 40 r. 440; p. 450. l. 10, & 11. r. *a natural*; p. 489. l. 4. for *bear* r. *wear*; p. 524. l. 5. close the Parenthesis after *me*; p. 548. l. 23. d. *that*.

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THE
HISTORY
OF THE
EXPULSION
OF THE
Moriscoes
OUT OF
SPAIN.

THE Taking of the City of *Granada*, by King *Ferdinand* of *Aragon*, and Queen *Isabel* of *Castile*, in the Year 1492. tho' it did put an end to the *Moorish* Government in *Spain*, where it had lasted above 700 Years; yet it did not clear the Country of the
B *Moors*:

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Moors : For the Body of the People, not only of the Kingdom of *Granada*, but of that of *Valentia* likewise (tho' conquer'd by the *Christians*, in the Year 1236.) and of *Murcia*, (conquer'd by them in the Year 1265.) were of that Race; besides great numbers of them scatter'd all over *Castile*, *Estramadura*, *Aragon*, *Catalonia*, &c. And all these *Moors* did continue to keep themselves a distinct People from the *Spaniards*, by an obstinate Adherence, not only to the Language, Habit, and Customs of their Ancestors, but to their Religion likewise, which was *Mahometan*; infomuch that few or none of them, in a long Series of Years, were converted to the Christian Faith by all that the *Spanish* Friars could do or say to them. For in truth the *Mahometans*, of whatsoever Nation (being all taught from their Infancy, to value themselves extreamly upon their Religion, as being the Reigning Religion in so many great Empires, and to despise all that are not of it, as little better than Dogs) are a stubborn sort of Creatures for a Man to convert, and especially to a Sect that adores Images, for which they have an invincible Aversion.

The *Spanish* Princes being sensible, how dangerous a thing it was, by reason of their near Neighbourhood to *Barbary*, to have so many *Moors* in their Dominions,
and

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and especially on the Coast of the *Mediterranean*, where most of 'em lived, were at a loss what to do with them. To have murdered them all in cold Blood, was a thing that would have filled the World with Horror; and to banish them all into *Barbary*, would be to depopulate their own Countries, and to strengthen their Enemies by an accession of so many thousands of Families; the thing therefore that they did most earnestly desire and pursue, was to make them all Christians, knowing, that if that were once done effectually, it would extinguish all Affection in them for the *Moors* of *Barbary*; and in case of an Invasion from thence, would make them no less zealous than their Neighbours, to defend *Spain*. For which Reason, the *Spanish* Kings and Nobles were continually calling upon the Ecclesiastics, to convert their *Moorish* Subjects, and Vassals, to Christianity, telling them, among other things, to quicken them to the Work; that it was a great Reproach to the Christian Faith, that it should not, where it had so many and great Advantages over *Mahometism*, be able to conquer it.

The Friars on the other side, who went only by starts, and preached a few Sermons to these Infidels, being very angry with them, because they would not be

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converted by them ; did represent them as a most obstinate and obdurate sort of People, who were not to be overcome with Arguments, nor by any other than violent Methods : They did therefore all along advise their Princes either to banish the *Moors*, or to make them all Slaves, if they would not turn Christians ; or at least, to take all their Children from them, and baptize them ; by which means the next Generation would be all *Christians*.

But these Methods being reckoned by all (except such as thought themselves affronted by the *Moors* not having turned *Christians*, upon their Preaching) to be very hard, if not unlawful ways of converting Infidels to the Faith ; the Council of *Toledo* also having expressly forbidden the forcing of Infidels to be baptized ; and *Thomas Aquinas*, with other Divines, having declared it unlawful to baptize the Children of Infidels without their Parents Consent, they were not pursued at this time. And there were these farther Reasons why they should not have been used at all, *viz.* that the *Moors*, when they were regnant, and had the Power in their hands, had never forced any of their Christian Subjects to change their Religion, but had always allowed them the Publick Exercise of their Worship : Whence it must
needs

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needs be extremely scandalous for Christians to use violent Methods against them ; and moreover King *Ferdinand*, when the City of *Granada* was surrendred to him, had engaged himself by an Oath, if the *Moors* had a mind to remain in *Spain*, not to give them any Disturbance on the account of their Religion, but to let them enjoy it with the same Freedom as they had done under their own Princes.

For the first seven Years after the taking of *Granada*, we do not find that the *Moors* were much persecuted by the *Spaniards*, to oblige them to change their Religion, their Conversion having been left by *Ferdinand*, according to his Oath, to the Arguments and Perswasions of the Archbishop, and other Ecclesiastics he had settled among them in great numbers, and without giving them Authority to make use of any Violence.

But *Ferdinand* being under no such Engagement to the *Jews*, who were likewise very numerous in *Spain* at that time, he did within three Months after the taking of the City of *Granada*, by a Publick Edict, command all the *Jews*, if they would not be baptized, to depart with their Families within four Months, out of all his Dominions, upon pain of Death : Which most of them did ; some going into *Italy* ; others to *Turkey*, and *Barbary* ; but the main Body of

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them went into *Portugal*; where, for a great Sum of Money, they obtained leave of King *John* the II. to continue for ſome Months, until they could be provided with Ships to carry them off. But notwithstanding, the Reason why they did not leave *Portugal* within the time prefix'd, was, that the King would not ſuffer any Ships to take them aboard; (and by Land they durſt not go, the *Spaniard* having made it Death for any of them to return into his Dominions) they were all, ſo ſoon as that Term was expired, ſtrip'd by the King of all their Goods, and ſold to his Subjects for Slaves.

King *Emanuel*, who ſucceeded *John*, reckoning it to have been both an unjuſt and diſhonourable thing that his Predeceſſor had done to the *Jews*, he ſet them all at liberty again; but at the ſame time, commanded them all, upon pain of perpetual Servitude, either to be baptized within a certain Term of Months, or to leave *Portugal*; promiſing, That Ships ſhould be provided for all that would depart, at the three chief Ports of his Kingdom. The *Jews* who had all left *Spain*, where they and their Anceſtors had lived for a great many Generations, becauſe they would not turn *Chriſtians*, did intend to have left *Portugal* for the ſame Reason; and did accordingly repair with their Families, to the
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Ports appointed for their Embarcation ; where, instead of Ships to carry them off, they met with a Proclamation, prohibiting them, upon pain of Death, to embark any where but at *Lisbon* : To which City, when they were all come with their Families, the King commanded all their Children, that were under fourteen Years of Age, to be taken from them, and to be baptized by force : With which unexpected Violence, several Parents were so enrag'd, that they threw their Children that were under that Age, into the River, and into Wells, and themselves after them. But the time appointed for their Embarcation being expired, and no Ships being permitted to take any of them aboard, they did rather than be made Slaves again, consent to be baptized.

The *Jews* who were at this time baptiz'd in this manner, are reckoned to have been above three hundred thousand Men, Women, and Children : But, as few, if any of them, were in their Hearts Christians, when they were thus forc'd to receive Baptism ; so great numbers of their Descendants do to this day in *Portugal*, continue to breed up their Children in the *Jewish* Religion, notwithstanding the unintermitting Cruelties which have ever since been exercis'd by the Inquisition, upon all of them

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them that have been convicted of having returned to that Faith.

This Dispersion of the *Spanish Jews*, is reckoned by all of that Nation and Religion, to have been, both as to Hardships, and as to their Numbers, nothing inferior to that which follow'd upon the Destruction of *Jerusalem*; above eight hundred thousand Men, Women, and Children, having been driven out of *Spain* at this time. But to return to the *Moors*.

In the Year 1499, *Ferdinand* and *Isabel* having return'd to visit their new Conquests, did find, that in the seven Years the *Granada Moors* had been under their Government, few or none of them had been converted to Christianity; whereupon they sent to the Archbishop of *Toledo*, who, at that time, was the Famous *Ximenes*, to come to them at *Granada*; who being arrived, they charged him, as he had any regard for the Honour of the Christian Religion, the Salvation of thousands of Souls, and the Security of *Spain*, to take some course or other to convert their *Moorish* Subjects to the Christian Faith; who as they were inform'd, were no less *Mahometans*, than they were when they liv'd under Kings of their own Religion. *Ximenes*, who was a Man that would not be easily baffled in any thing that he undertook, begun that great

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Work with courting and careſſing the chief Men among the *Moors* ; and having by rich Presents, and greater Promiſes, perſwaded ſome of the firſt Quality among them to turn Chriſtians, their Examples were followed by a conſiderable number of the Inferior fort. The *Moors* both in the City and Country being much alarm'd and diſpleaſed with thoſe Conversions, ſeveral of their principal Men, with whom the Archbiſhop had not been able to prevail, did go about to perſwade their Kindred and others, neither to be flattered nor bribed out of the Religion of their Forefathers. The Archbiſhop, ſo ſoon as he heard of thoſe Counterworkings, *laying all Humanity*, ſaith the Writer of his Life, *almost aſide*, commanded all thoſe Zealots to be apprehended ; and having loaded them with Irons, he ordered them to be thrown into Dungeons, and to be treated in them as the greateſt of Malefactores. Among theſe Zealots, there was one named *Zagri*, who was of a Noble Family, and had been in a high Command in Armies ; and who among his other Exploits, had in his younger days fought hand to hand with *Gonzalo* the Great Captain. The Archbiſhop reckoning, that if he were but able to ſubdue *Zagri's* high Spirit, ſo far as to make him turn Chriſtian, none among the *Moors* would after that dare

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dare to oppose him in his Conversions, committed him to the Custody of one of his own Chaplains, named *Leoni*, a Man of a fierce and cruel Disposition ; in whose keeping *Zagri* had not been many days, before he begg'd of his Keeper to be permitted to speak with the Archbishop : Which being granted, *Zagri*, when he appear'd before him, desired, That his Irons might be knock'd off, that he might deliver his Mind with the more Freedom ; which having been done, he declared ; *That he had been commanded the Night before in a Dream, to turn Christian ;* adding, at the same time, with a Smile ; *I am not such a Blockhead as to want any more Arguments to perswade me to that, besides those I have had given me by that terrible Lion of your Lordship's ;* alluding to his Keeper's Name ; to whom, said *Zagri*, *let my Countrymen be but committed for so many days, as I have been, and I will undertake they shall all be converted by him to Christianity ;* intimating, how barbarously he had been used by *Leoni*. The Archbishop being overjoy'd at his having thus converted *Zagri*, commanded him to be lead out, and washed ; and having cloathed him in Scarlet, he baptized him himself, calling him by the Name of *Gonzalo Ferdinando*, the Great Captain, who was at that time in *Granada* ; and settling a Pen-
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tion on him of 5000 Crowns yearly, for his Life. The other *Moorish* Prisoners being no more able than *Zagri*, to withstand *Leoni's* Arguments, did yield, and were baptized likewise by the Archbishop; who after this commanded all the *Moors* to deliver their *Alchorans*, and all their other *Arabick* Books to him: Which being done, he ordered all the Books that treated of Philosophy and Medicine to be preserved, burning all the rest in the Market-place of the City, to the great Mortification of the *Moors*, who had not chang'd their Religion: And being resolved to make his Harvest as great as it was possible, he commanded the Children of all the *Moors*, who were called *Elkes*, to be taken from them, and baptized; upon pretence, that their Ancestors were anciently Christians, who had apostatized to the *Mahometan Sect*.

While the Archbishop was going on thus triumphantly with his Conversions, the *Moors*, who were enraged thereby almost to Madness, took up Arms; and having first barricado'd the Streets of the City, they march'd in a great Body to the House where the Archbishop lodged; who having sent one of his Servants to them, to know what it was they desired; they sent him word, That they desired, that the Articles whereon they had surrendered the City to the

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the King, might be observed ; and particularly, that of their having no trouble given 'em on the account of their Religion, which they would sooner die than part with. The Archbishop returned a very mild and favourable Answer to this Message, and continued to give them good Words, and large Promises of what he would do for them, until the *Count de Tondale*, Governor of the Citadel, came to his Relief ; who having, with very little Bloodshed, dispersed the *Moors*, the Archbishop would not treat with them any longer, but as with Rebels, who had forfeited, not only all the Benefits of their Capitulation, but their Lives also, by the late Uproar.

The first News that the King and Queen, who were then at *Sevil*, had of this Insurrection, made it to be a great deal worse than it was. That News was, That the *Moors*, provoked by the Violences used by the Archbishop, to force them to change their Religion, had rebelled, and made themselves Masters of the whole City of *Granada* ; and no Advice coming from the Archbishop, thorough the negligence of the Courier, by whom he had sent his Letters, his Conduct was severely censured by the whole Court, but especially by the King himself ; who not having as yet digested the Affront the Queen had put upon him, in
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making *Ximines* Archbishop of *Toledo*, tho' he had begg'd it earnestly of her for his Natural Son *Alphonso*, of *Aragon*, Archbishop of *Saragoca* : He bid her with Indignation, See what her hot-headed *Ximines* had done, having by his violent and obstinate Folly, lost a Place in a few Weeks, which had cost Spain so much Sweat and Blood. But Advice coming soon after, That the Insurrection was quelled, the King dispatch'd Judges to *Granada*, to condemn all the *Moors*, who had been any ways concerned in the Tumult, as Traytors; and having first condemned them, to offer them their Lives, if they would turn Christians : Which Order, having been executed by the Judges, fifty thousand *Moors*, Inhabitants of the City of *Granada*, purchased their Lives, by consenting to be baptized : By which means the Archbishop, when he went from *Granada*, did not leave one profess'd *Mahometan* in that City: Tho' it was reasonably believ'd, that he had not made one true Convert all the time that he was there.

The Bishop of *Granada*, to whom the Instructing of *Ximines's* Converts in the *Christian* Faith was left, order'd the Psalms, the Gospels, and the Epistles, to be Translated into *Arabick* for their Use, for which Method of Instruction that Bishop was much blam'd by *Ximines*,

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mines, who thereupon declar'd, That whenever the Bible should come to be Translated into Vulgar Tongues, it would be of Pernicious Consequente to Christianity.

The great Violences that had been used with the *Moors* of the City of *Granada*, to force them to turn *Christians*, did so alarm the *Moors* in the Country, who expected it would be their turn quickly to be treated in the same manner, that they fortify'd themselves among the Mountains, where they lived, being resolved rather to die *Mahometans*, with their Swords in their hands, than to be forc'd to be Baptiz'd, as their Country-men had been in the City: but before they were able to form their Militia, and fortify their Houses, the Great Captain and the Count *de Tindel* were upon 'em with an Army of *Veterane* Troops; and without breaking Ground, having taken *Huyar*, the most considerable Town among the Mountains, by Assault, did put all the *Moors*, Men, Women, and Children that they found in it, to the Sword; expecting that the Terror thereof would have reduc'd all the *Moors* that were in Arms to Obedience; which it was so far from doing, that the News thereof made them fortify themselves in all places, and helped them to a much greater Army than they could otherwise have raised.

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The *Moors* being now too strong for the Great Captain, with the Army he had with him to deal with ; the King, in Person, marched against them, and with the Troops he brought with him, being joyned with those of the Great Captain, he did in a short time reduce *Sanaiaarra*, *Almeria*, *Bacca*, *Guadie*, and all the other *Moorish* Towns that were in Arms ; obliging all the Inhabitants, as fast as he reduc'd them, to purchase their Lives by consenting to be baptized. And whereas there were still great numbers of *Moors* in Arms among the Mountains, which were not accessible to an Army, the King set forth a Proclamation, commanding them all upon pain of Death to lay down their Arms, and to remove, with their Families, into the Kingdom of *Castile*, where Dwellings should be provided for them. But the *Moors* being sensible, that if the *Spaniards* had them once out of their Fastnesses, they would either force them to turn *Christians*, or cut all their Throats, they sent some Commissioners to the King, to desire, that since they could not be suffered to enjoy their Religion in *Spain*, they might be transported to *Barbary*, offering to pay ten Dollars a Head for every one that imbarqu'd : The King, who was in great want of Money, having agreed to this, several thousands of the
Moors

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Moors embarqued aboard a Fleet that the King had provided for them at *Estopona*, but a great many more were left behind for want of Money to pay for their Passage, who were all forced to be baptized: So that in a few Months, above two hundred thousand Men, Women, and Children were converted by the King and the Archbishop of *Toledo*, from the *Mahometan* to the *Christian* Profession: I say Profession, because it is more than probable, that there was scarce one in all that vast Number that was truly converted to the *Christian* Faith; or, if any were, it must have been by immediate Divine Inspiration, and not by outward Instruction, which few or none of them had ever had.

The Inquisition, which had not at that time been erected into such a Court as it is now above twenty Years, looking upon all these forc'd Baptisms as good and valid, did exercise all its usual Cruelties on such of the *Moors* as were convicted of having returned to *Mahometism*, which few or none of them had ever left with their Hearts.

No fewer than an hundred thousand, living and dead, present and absent, were condemned for Apostacy by the Inquisition of *Sevil*, in the space of forty Years: of which number, four thousand were

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were burnt, and thirty thousand were reconcil'd, the rest having made their Escape into *Barbary*, upon their Fears that they were in Danger of being taken up by that Court.

By means of this great Desolation made by the Inquisition, *Garibai* saith three, *Ileſtas* saith five thousand Houses were left void, and without Inhabitants, within the Districts of the Inquisition of *Sevil*: Of which Complaint being made by the Owners of those Houses to the King; most of the Counsellors of State were of Opinion, that the Inquisition was not to be suffered to make such terrible Havock of the People, telling the King plainly, that if a Stop were not put to the Fury of that Court, it would in a short time turn *Spain* into a perfect Desert. But the King not seeming to be at all moved by these Remonstrances, a great Sum of Money (of which he stood in great need at that time) was offered, if he would consent to the putting down of the Inquisition; which, contrary to the Rules of all good Policy, had been erected by him in *Spain*; to which Proposition the King seeming to lend an Ear, *Thomas de Turrecremata* (a *Dominican* Fryar, who, for having modell'd the Court of Inquisition as it was then, and has been ever since in *Spain*, was made the first Inquisitor General)

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when he heard thereof, posted away to Court, and having, so soon as he arrived, obtained an Audience of the King and Queen, he pulled a Crucifix from under his Habit before he spoke a Word, and holding it forth to 'em, said, *I am not a Stranger to the Bargain that is going on here. Our Blessed Saviour Christ Jesus was Sold by the wretched Judas for Thirty Pieces of Silver: If you reckon that Judas did well in Selling him to his Enemies, you may follow his Example, and Sell him for a great deal more; but that I may not seem to have any hand in such an abominable Bargain, I do here lay down my Authority, and do you answer to God for what will be the Consequence of it: With which free and passionate Expostulation the King and Queen were so deeply touch'd, that none durst, after that, ever speak to either of 'em one Word against the Inquisition, or concerning the Desolations that were made by it, in all the Kingdoms of Spain.*

The News of the great Cruelties exercised on the *Moors* of *Granada* by the *Spaniards*, to force them to turn *Christians*, being carried to *Grand Cairo*, together with a Copy of the Articles whereon *Granada* had been Surrendred to *Ferdinand*; the Soldan and his Mamalukes were so enraged thereat, that they threatned to treat
all

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all the *Christians*, but particularly the *Latin Christians* at *Jerusalem*, after the same manner as the *Spaniards* had, contrary to their Oaths, treated the *Mahometans* that were their Subjects.

Ferdinand having receiv'd Advice of the Danger the *Latin Christians* in *Egypt*, and other *Eastern Countries* were in, by reason of what he had done to the *Moors*, immediately dispatch'd the Learned *Peter Martyr*, with the Character of his Ambassador, to the Soldan, to satisfy him of his having observed the Capitulations he had made with the *Moors*, and of his having never forced any of them to change their Religion. *Peter Martyr* being arrived at Grand *Cairo*, did with great Difficulty obtain a private Audience by Night of the Soldan, (who durst not, for fear of the Mamalukes, give him one publicly) at which Audience, in conformity to what is said of an Ambassador, being one sent to lie abroad for his Master's Service, *Peter* did assure the Soldan, that all that he had been told of his Master's having broke his Oath with the *Moors*, in having persecuted them to make them turn *Christians*, was notoriously false: His Master and Mistress being too good *Christians* themselves, to do a thing that was so contrary to their Religion, as the forcing of People by severity to embrace

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it. He told him further, that it was true, that most of the *Granada Moors*, since they had been Subjects to his Master, had been baptiz'd, but that not one of them had been forc'd to receive that Sacrament, it not being lawful for *Christians* to administer it to any that did not earnestly and freely desire it.

But whether the Soldan (who with his Empire was quickly after that destroyed by the *Turks*) was satisfy'd or not with what the *Spanish* Ambassador had told him, of none of the *Moors* having been forc'd to receive Baptism; it is certain that several *Spanish* Divines were so sensible of their having been compell'd to receive that Sacrament, that they declared their Baptism to be null and void, and to have been a great Profanation of that Sacrament.

During the remaining part of the Reign of *Ferdinand* and *Isabel*, we hear little more of the *Granada Moriscoes*, (as the *Spaniards* call'd them, to distinguish them from the *Moors* of *Barbary*) than that they did universally continue to be *Mahometans*, and that with an extraordinary Aversion to *Christianity*; which Aversion was rather encreas'd than lessen'd in them, by the great Preachers, who were from time to time sent among them to instruct them; and by the Inquisition's burning great Numbers of them every Year for having apostatiz'd, they

of the Moriscoes out of Spain. 21

they may be truly said to have apostatiz'd from *Christianity*, who, tho' forc'd to profess it, had never believ'd it, as all, or most of them that were put to Death, declared at the Stake when they came to die.

In the Year 1526. the Emperor having spent the Summer in the City of *Granada*, and been splendidly entertain'd there by the *Moriscoes*, with an Exercise call'd *Leylas*, which is said to be the more diverting to the Spectators, for being dangerous to the Actors, a *Memorial* was put into his Hand by *Don Francisco de Venegas*, *Don Michael de Aragon*, and *Don Lopez de Benazara*, three of the Corrigidors of that City, filled with Complaints of the insufferable Grievances the *Moriscoes* were under from the Clergy, Judges, &c. with an humble Supplication to him, to command them all to be speedily redressed.

The Emperor being much scandalized at the Christians being guilty of so great Cruelties and Injustices, did with the Consent of his Council, appoint the Bishop of *Guadix*, Doctor *Quintana*, Doctor *Utiel*, *Pero Lopez*, and Fryar *Anthony de Guevara*, to prepare themselves to go forthwith to visit the City and whole Kingdom of *Granada*, in order to enquire into the Merits of that Charge; and withal to look into the Behaviour of the *Moriscoes*, and how

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they stood affected to the *Christian* Religion. The Visitors, where-ever they went, found there was but too much of Truth in the Complaints the *Moriscoes* had made to the Emperor, of their being very ill used ; but at the same time the *Moriscoes* did plainly discover themselves to be *Mahometans* ; and that tho' it was then above seven and twenty Years since they had all been compelled to be baptized, there were not seven and twenty, no nor seven of them, that were true Christians.

This Report having been made by the Visitors, a *Junta* of the Court-Prelates and Lawyers was assembled to view their Processes and Relations, in order to find out some Remedy for both those Evils. The Members whereof this *Junta* consisted, were, the Archbishop of *Sevil*, who was Inquisitor General, the Bishop of *Osma*, the Emperor's Confessor, the Archbishop of *Granada*, the Bishop of *Guadix*, the Bishop of *Almareia*, the Bishop of *Mondonnado*, the Bishop of *Oren*, the Commendador Mayor of *Calatrava*, *Francisco de los Covos*, Doctor *Guevera*, and Fryar *Anthony de Guevera* ; who, after having held divers long Consultations, did at last agree on the following Orders, for the Benefit of the *Moriscoes*.

First, That the Court of Inquisition, that was in the City of *Jaen*, should be

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of the *Moriscoes* out of Spain. 23

removed from thence, and fix'd in the City of *Granada*, where most of the considerable *Moriscoes* lived, to be a near and standing Terror to them.

Secondly, That all Offences committed by the *Moriscoes* before the Year 1527. should be forgiven, but for such as they shall commit after that, they shall be rigorously proceeded against by the Inquisition.

Thirdly, That the *Moriscoes* shall no longer speak *Algavareia*, that is, *Moorish* or *Arabick*, but shall all speak *Aljamaia*, that is, *Spanish*, as it was call'd by the *Moors*; and that all their Writings and Contracts shall be in *Spanish*.

Fourthly, That the *Moriscoes*, Men and Women, shall no longer wear the *Moorish* Habit, but shall have their Cloaths all in the *Spanish* Fashion.

Fifthly, That upon pain of Death no Taylor shall make any Cloaths, nor no Mason shall build any Houses, after the *Moorish* manner.

Sixthly, That no *Morisca* shall be brought to bed, without having an old *Christian* Woman present at her Labour, to see that no *Mahometan* Ceremonies be used on that Occasion.

Lastly, That for the instructing of *Morisco* Children in the *Christian* Faith, whose Parents will not instruct them in it, a Col-

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lege shall be erected in the City of *Granada*, another in the City of *Guadix*, and a third in the City of *Almareia*.

One can have no regard for Truth or Justice, that does not detest the Injustice and gross Partiality of this *Junta*, which, tho' it was constituted and assembled on purpose to have redressed the great Grievances the *Moriscoes* had complained of, and at which the Emperor himself was so much scandalized, was so far from doing any thing that did so much as look that way; that on the contrary, all that it did, was to increase their Vexations, and to make them more grievous than they were before. And of this, as soon as the *Junta's* Orders were published, the *Moriscoes* complained aloud to the Emperor; particularly, of the erecting of the Court of Inquisition in the City of *Granada*: But all the Relief that they could obtain, was, The Emperor would not allow the Estates of the *Moriscoes*, who were taken up by the Inquisition, to be confiscated by that Court; and did permit the *Moriscoes* to wear Cloaths after their old Fashion; which small Indulgence, if we may believe the *Spaniards*, cost the *Moriscoes* very dear, having been procured by a Present of eighty thousand Ducats, which they made to the Emperor, being in great want of Money;

of the Moriscoes out of Spain. 25

Money ; an Infelicity which seems to be entailed on the House of *Austria*.

After this, the Fryars went on Preaching, and the Inquisitors went on Burning the *Moriscoes*, until the Year 1568. At which time *Philip II.* being assured from all hands, that unless some other Courses were taken to reconcile the *Granada Moriscoes* to the *Christian* Faith, they would continue *Ma-hometans* to the end of the World ; and considering, that they being a very Fruitful People, and under none of those Restraints from Marriage, which great numbers of the old *Christians* were under, would in a few Generations fill the Kingdom of *Granada* with People of that Sect ; with the Advice of his Council, and of some of the Wifelt among the Ecclesiasticks, he Published the following Laws ; in order to extinguish, in the *Moriscoes*, the Memory of their being descended of the *Moors* ; the Memory whereof was truly reckoned to contribute not a little to their Obstinacy in the Religion of that Nation.

1. " That it should not be lawful for any
" in the Kingdom of *Granada* to wear the
" *Moorish* Habit, which was described in
" the Law.

2. " That it should not be lawful for a-
" ny in that Kingdom, to observe the Cu-
" stoms of the *Moors* ; several of which Cu-
" stoms were particulariz'd.

3.

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3. " That it should not be lawful for any in that Kingdom, to speak *Arabick*, or to teach their Children that Language: All which things they were commanded to observe, upon Pain of Death.

The King being sensible that the *Moriscoes* would be highly provoked by the strict Execution of these Laws, which tho' in their own Nature Civil, had a natural tendency, and were design'd to extinguish in them their love for *Mahometism*; he did at the same time, command the *Moriscoes*, to be all disarmed, and not to be suffered to have Places or Houses of any Strength; or to assemble any where together in great numbers.

The *Moriscoes*, who reckoned that there was something of Religion in every thing they had in common with the *Moors*, and which were not in use among the *Spaniards*, being extreamly uneasie under the rigorous Execution of these Laws, sent some Commissioners privately to the *Grand Seignior*, and to the *Moors* in *Barbary*, to acquaint them with the Cruelties which were exercised upon them by the *Spaniards*, on the account of their being *Mussulmen*; and with the Laws which had been lately imposed upon them, with an Intention of extinguishing the *Mahometan* Faith in *Spain*; beseeching those Princes, in the Name of their

great

of the Moriscoes out of Spain. 27

great and common Prophet, to find out some way to oblige the *Spaniards* to suffer them to enjoy their Religion quietly, according to the Capitulation whereon the City of *Granada* had been surrendred to them; by which Agreement, the *Spaniards* were bound by Oath, not to give them any disturbance on that account, nor to deny them the Use of Publick *Mosques*, for the free Exercise of their Worship. Upon these Complaints of the *Moriscoes*, 800 *Turks* are said to have been sent, with a great quantity of Arms and Ammunition, into the Kingdom of *Granada*; but we are neither told from what Port they came, nor at what Port they were landed; but that upon their being got among the Mountains of *Granada*, the *Moors* did flock to them from all Parts, in such numbers, that in a very short time they had formed a considerable Army, and had so fortified all the Passages of the Mountains, that it was not possible for any Force that was not much superior to theirs, to offend them. We are told farther, that they were no sooner in Arms, than they did all renounce the Profession of the Christian Religion; declaring, That they were, and had always been, true *Mahometans* in their Hearts; and were now resolved to spend the last drop of their Blood in the maintenance of that Sect; and that they

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they did not only turn all their Churches into *Mosques*; but did also, in great triumph, burn all the Hosts, Images and Reliques that they found in them, killing a great many of the Priests and Fryars, which had been planted among them, to convert them, which has occasion'd a great swelling of the *Spanish Martyrology*.

So soon as the King heard of the *Moriscoes* being in Arms, the Marquess of *Mondejar*, Governor of the City of *Granada*, was ordered, with all the Troops he could get together, to march against them; and though that Marquess did beat them in most of the Skirmishes he had with them, yet in 18 Months time he was neither able to conquer them, nor to starve them among the Mountains, by keeping Provisions from going to them; both the *Turks* and the *Moors* being People that can live upon simple and very little Food.

The King fearing lest the *Moriscoes*, if they kept the Field much longer, might be reinforced, and supply'd with Provisions and Ammunition, either by the *Turks*, or by the *Moors*, sent a considerable and well disciplin'd Army against them, under the command of his Brother *Don John of Austria*, with Orders to attacque them vigorously on all sides: Which was done so briskly by that Young Prince, that in a few

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few Weeks, though with the loss of a great many Men, (among whom was his Governor *Don Lewis Quixada*,) he did not leave a *Morisco* any where in Arms. The *Moriscoes* being thus totally subdu'd, were all with their Families removed out of the Kingdom of *Granada*, where it was easie for them to hold a Correspondence with the *Moors* of *Barbary*, and dispersed over the Kingdom of *Castile*, and some other Inland Provinces, in which they and their Posterity continued until the time of their general Expulsion. And in this *Morisco* War, which lasted about two Years, above twenty thousand *Spaniards* are said to have been killed.

Having nothing more to write of the *Granada Moriscoes*, from the time of their having been all transplanted into *Castile*, until the time of their generral Expulsion, in the Year 1610; but that notwithstanding all the Diligence and Cruelties which were used to reconcile them to *Christianity*, they and their Posterity did still continue as much *Mahometans* in their Hearts as ever they had been, I now pass to the *Moriscoes* of the Kingdoms of *Valentia* and *Arragon*, who had all continued profess'd *Mahometans* for three hundred Years after they were conquered by the *Christians*; and who having been all baptized by an extreme Force, did

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did remain *Mahometans* in their Hearts until they were all expelled *Spain*.

James, King of *Arragon*, by whom *Valencia* was conquer'd in the Year 1236, finding that he could not, without depopulating his Conquests, turn the *Moors* out of it, commanded the Ecclesiasticks to set earnestly about the converting them to *Christianity*, as well to save their Souls, as to make them good Subjects to a *Christian* Prince; which he reckoned they could never be, so long as they remained *Mahometans*: And since few of the *Moriscoes* understood any Tongue but the *Arabick*, he desired the *Fryars* to study that Language, to be able to Preach in it to the *Moriscoes*: And to encourage that Study, he erected two Schools for it; the one in the Island of *Majorca*, and the other at *Barcelona*: The *Fryars*, and particularly the *Dominicans*, in conformity to the King's Command, backed by a Decree of a Council assembled at *Toledo*, and another of a General Chapter of the *Dominican* Order, did appoint such of their Orders, as they judg'd to be most capable, to apply themselves assiduously to the Study of the *Arabick* Tongue; which was done by several of them with so much diligence, that they are said to have become great Masters of, and eloquent Preachers in *Arabick* in a very short time.

But

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But whatever their Success was in the Study of the Language of the *Moriscoes*, it is certain, that either thorow their own Impatience, or the *Moriscoes* Obstinacy, their Success in Preaching to them was very small; for in less time, after the Conquest of *Valentia*, than that difficult Tongue is ordinarily attainable, in such a measure as to preach in it, the Fryars employed in that Work, were every where representing the *Moriscoes*, as such incurable Infidels, that it was in vain ever to hope, by any human means, unless it were by those of force, to convert them to *Christianity*: And to make the *Moriscoes* Obstinacy in their Infidelity the more inexcusable, they pretended to have wrought abundance of Miracles among them without any Success.

Upon these Representations, of the Obstinacy of the *Moriscoes* in the *Mahometan* Sect, Pope Clement the IV, writ a long Letter to the same King *James* that conquered *Valentia*, to banish the *Moriscoes* out of all his Dominions, exhorting him to it in the following Words; Consider my Son, consider, how dangerous a thing it is to suffer Saracens to live in your Kingdoms; who though they may out of Fear, for a time, conceal their Malice, will, when ever they shall have an opportunity, discover it with a vengeance: So that by suffering those obstinate Infidels

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fidels to remain within your Dominions, you do nourish a Serpent in your Bosom, and Fire in your Lap: With a great deal more to the same Purpose, and with the same Passion.

At the same time Clement writ the following Letter to that King, on occasion of his having made one *Jatruda*, a profess'd Jew, Lord of his Treasury; and having had a Conference held before him, concerning the Truth of the *Christian Faith*, betwixt a *Dominican Fryar* and a Jew; and of a Book likewise which had been published by that Jew against the *Christian Faith*, upon the Subject of that Conference.

Most Glorious Prince, That the Zeal wherewith you do incessantly endeavour to Adorn the Orthodox Faith, may shine the more Illustriously in the Subduing of all its Enemies and Rivals, and particularly the Jews, (who do above all others, Blaspheme the Christian Name with Violence and Bitterness) for the future, you must not admit any of that Religion to bear Offices, neither must you confer any Honour upon any of them; but on the contrary, must so far as the Privileges allow'd them by the Apostolical Sea will permit you, restrain, and trample upon their Malice, and not suffer their Blasphemies to go unpunished, but above all, the Impudence of that Jew ought to be severely Chastised, who, upon the Disputation which he had in your Presence, with our Loving,
and

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and Religious Son, Father Paul, of the Pre-
dicant Order, is said to have writ a Book
which he has filled with Lies, and has, to
propagate them, dispersed several Copies of the
said Book through your Territories; for which
impudent Fact he ought to be punished severely,
but without touching his Life, or maiming his
Body, yet so as to terrifie others from ever be-
ing so Audacious as to attempt the like. We
do therefore admonish your Serenity, &c.

Whatever Effect this Letter, written by
the Pope concerning the Jews, had on the
King, he was so inflam'd by that which
was writ to him, concerning the Moriscoes,
that, after that, could he have had his Will,
he had not left one of them within his Do-
minions that had refused to be Baptiz'd.

But the Constitution of the Government
of Aragon, and Valentia, being such, that
the King had no Authority to do any thing
of a Publick Nature without the Concur-
rence of the Three Estates in Cortes, or
Parliament Assembled; the King call'd a
Cortes, to try if he could prevail with 'em
to have all the Moriscoes Banished that wou'd
not turn Christians.

In which Cortes the King made this fol-
lowing Speech at the Opening of it.

Worthy Senators, You are all Witnesses of
the great Labours we have undergone to con-
quer this Kingdom and City, neither is our

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Mind as yet quiet, not so much through a desire of making farther Conquests, as out of a Zeal to conquer the Souls of our Subjects to Christ, and to his true Religion; to which Holy Enterprize, we have given a beginning in this City, by commanding all the Moriscoes that live therein, either to turn Christians, or to go and live somewhere else. But in the Country we have not been able to carry this matter so far. Wherefore, what I have to tell you is, That since the War is at an end, and all things are well settled, and the Moriscoes have been permitted to live quietly in their Houses, and upon their Lands, and have, to make the Token of their Subjection the more easie, been suffered to profess their own Religion; their persevering after all this, in the wicked Sect of Mahometism, is an undeniable Evidence of Infidelity being deeply rooted in their Hearts, and does further assure the World, that they will never be faithful either to God, or us. After the King had made this Speech, it was proposed, that the Moriscoes, if they would not turn Christians, should be all banished the Kingdom. The Ecclesiasticks and Commons gave their Consent to it: But the Barons, to whom most of the Moriscoes were Vassals, and whose Lands would have been of little Profit to them, after the People by whom they were cultivated were sent away, would by no means agree to its being

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ing done, declaring it to be both an impolitic, and a wicked thing; and that the Ecclesiasticks, instead of promoting the Expulsion of a People (by whom the whole Work of the Kingdom was done in a manner) if they would not turn *Christians*, ought to take pains to instruct them in the Faith; in which, whatever might be pretended, it was certain they had never been sufficiently instructed; so that it was the *Moriscoes* Ignorance of the *Christian Religion*, more than their Love for the *Mahometan*, that kept them from being converted.

By this brisk Opposition, made by the whole Body of the Barons, (who were called, *The Military Arm*, or *Estado*,) to the first publick Motion that had been made for the Banishing of the *Moriscoes*, the Design of Expelling them was so knocked on the head, that the Barons continuing to the last to be of the same Mind, as we shall see hereafter; it was not, that we read of, notwithstanding the *Moriscoes* did all still remain *Mahometans*, revived again in above 300 Years; when the Power and Authority of the Barons were, by the Policy of their Princes, brought to a very low Ebb, from what they had been anciently.

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The Barons, or Nobles, who in the beginning of the Conquests made upon the *Moors* in *Spain*, were Fellow-Soldiers, or Fellow-Adventurers with those who came afterwards to be their Princes; did always when they set a King over them, reserve great Rights and Privileges to themselves and particularly a Claim to the greatest Share of the Towns and Lands which were conquered by them, as belonging to them by the same Right, that the Crown had to that Share of the Lands which fell to its lot. And the ancient Barons were by that means so powerful, that their Princes were not able to do any thing of a publick Nature without their Concurrence and Consent. Now these, as we shall see hereafter, having never given their consent to the expelling of the *Moriscoes*, made the doing of it to be as Illegal as it was Inhuman. And to satisfy the curious Reader that it was so, I think it will not be improper, in this Place, to give him a short account of the Government of *Aragon*, to which *Valentia* belonged; as it was constituted when it was first erected into a Monarchy.

The People that recovered *Aragon* from the *Moors*, finding it most convenient for them to be under a Kingly Government, did, before they chose a King, for the security of their Properties and Liberties under that

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of the Moriscoes out of Spain. 37

that Form of Government, make several Laws and Constitutions, which their Kings, before they were acknowledged to be such, were to swear to observe inviolably. As,

1. That the King should not do any thing of a publick Nature, without the consent of the *Three Armes*, or *Estates* in *Cortes* or *Parliament* assembled.

2. That there should be for ever a Standing Magistrate, named by the *Three Estates*, with the Title of, *Justice of Aragon*; with full Authority to redress all the Grievances of the Subjects.

3. That in case the King deny to do Justice to any Subject, according to the Sentence of the said *Justice*, that the Barons and Rich Men, upon Complaints being made to them thereof, should assemble themselves, and charge those that held Lands of the Crown, not to pay their Rents, until the Aggrieved Subject was relieved.

4. That it shou'd not be lawful for the King, without the consent of the *Three Estates*, to bring any Foreign Troops into the Kingdom; and in case he did, that it should be lawful for the Subjects to take up Arms, and to drive them out, tho' headed by the King in Person.

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Lastly, That in case the King did violate any of the Fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, he might lawfully be Deposed by the Subjects, who were to swear Obedience to him in the following Form of Words ;

Nos que valemus tanto como vos, os hazemos Nuestro Rey y Sennor: com tal, que nos guardeys Nuestros Fueros y Libertades è Sy no, no.

That is to say,

We who are as valuable as you, do make you our King and Lord, but upon condition, That you shall preserve our Laws and Liberties ; and if not, not.

But to return to the *Moriscoes* :

After the forementioned Attempt, to have banished all the *Moriscoes* in the Kingdom of *Valentia*, had miscarried, we hear little of them besides loud Complaints of their Invincible Obstinacy in their Infidelity, until the Year 1510 ; when upon *Ferdinand's* having forced all the *Moriscoes* in the Kingdom of *Granada*, either to be baptized, or to leave *Spain* ; the Barons fearing lest he might attempt to do the same in the Kingdom of *Valentia*, did oblige him in a Cortes assembled in that Year, to give his Royal Assent to the following Law ;
which

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which is still extant in the *Extravaganti*,
Fol. 73.

We do by this Law and Statute Enact, That the Moriscoes, abiding or dwelling in Cities, or Royal Villages; or in any other Village, Places, or Countries, belonging to the Ecclesiasticks, Rich-men, Nobles, Knights, or Citizens; or of any other Persons whatsoever, shall not be expelled, or turn'd out of them; neither shall they be banished out of the Kingdom of Valentia; or out of any of the Cities, or Royal Villages thereof; neither shall they ever be forced to turn Christians. And it is our farther Will and Pleasure, That they shall not be hindred to Trade, or to buy and sell, either among themselves, or among Christians, neither by us, nor by any of our Successors, but shall enjoy all the same Liberties they have formerly enjoyed.

But the Barons being sensible that there were some People that were continually calling upon their Princes to banish all the *Moriscoes* out of *Spain*, if they would not turn *Christians*; and judging, that they could never do too much to secure the Kingdom against so fatal a Blow as that would be to it, they had it made a part of their King's Coronation Oath, That he should, upon no pretence whatsoever, expel the *Moriscoes*,

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nor force them against their Wills, to be baptized; and that he should neither directly, nor indirectly, ever desire to be dispensed with as to the said Oath; or in case a Dispensation should be offered to him, that he should not accept of it; and that if he did, whatsoever should be done by him thereupon, should be null and void. By which Law and Oath, (so short sighted a thing is Human Providence,) the Barons did reckon, that they had sufficiently secur'd *Valentia* from ever being depriv'd of so numerous and industrious a People, as the *Moriscoes* were.

But the Commons of *Valentia* having in the Year 1520. taken up Arms, and driven all the Nobles, and all the King's Officers out of the Kingdom: The first thing they did after they had taken the Government into their wild Hands, was to command all the *Moriscoes*, by a Publick Proclamation, upon pain of Death, to be baptized so soon as that Proclamation came to their knowledge: Which was done by the Commons, more out of spight to the Barons, by whom the *Moriscoes* had been so long protected, notwithstanding their Infidelity, than out of any true Zeal for Religion. But upon whatever Motive that Proclamation was set forth by the Commons, the *Moriscoes* apprehending that they had no other way to secure their Lives under

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der such a furious Government, but by complying with it in this Matter, they were baptized every where in such vast numbers, that it was verily believ'd, that there was not a *Morisco* left unbaptized in the whole Kingdom.

By these forced *Baptisms*, the Controversy about their Validity was revived again; some Divines holding them to be valid, and others denying them to be so, for not having been voluntary; which they could not be said to have been, having been received to avoid present Death.

The Emperor *Charles* the Vth. having reduced the Commons to Obedience, called an Assembly of the *Clergy* to determine this difficult Point; in which Assembly, the Inquisitor General being President of it, it was concluded, That though the Commons had done ill, in compelling the *Moriscoes* to be baptized, those *Baptisms* were nevertheless so valid, as to oblige all that had received them, to profess the *Christian Faith*, and to make them liable to the Punishments due to *Apostates*, if they return'd to their former Infidelity: Which *Determination* was justify'd by the 57th Decree of the 4th Council of *Toledo*, held in the Year 671; in which Decree the *Fathers*, after having condemned the forcing of Infidels to receive *Christian Baptism*; Because God has
mercy

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mercy on whom he will have mercy ; and whom he will, he hardneth ; did nevertheless declare, That the Jews, who in the Year 649, to the number of ninety thousand grown People, had been forced by King Sisebut to receive Christian Baptism, were, notwithstanding that Compulsion, obliged to continue in the Profession of the Christian Faith.

It is necessary, saith the Decree, that they be constrained to hold the Faith, notwithstanding they were at first forc'd to embrace it ; that the Name of God may not be blasphemed ; and the Faith they embraced may not become vile and contemptible.

When this Determination was made publick, it raised a mighty disturbance in *Valentia*, vast numbers of the *Moriscoes*, (dreading the Thoughts of being brought under the Jurisdiction of the Inquisition as *Christians*,) declaring thereupon, that they had never been baptized, but had only profess'd *Christianity*, to avoid the Fury of the *Commons*.

The Inquisitors not being able, by reason that the *Moriscoes*, (who had been baptized in vast Crouds) had not been registred, to disprove this Pretence, did petition the Emperor to destroy it ; by commanding all the *Moriscoes*, who did own their having been baptized, to be confirmed ; and to

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command those who affirmed, that they had never been baptized, upon pain of perpetual Slavery or Banishment, to receive that Sacrament immediately.

But the Emperor being bound by an Oath never to do that, nor to desire, accept of, or make use of any Dispensation with that Oath, a Dispensation nevertheless was sent to him by Pope Clement the VIIth. in the Year 1524, whereby he was released from the whole of that Oath, in the following Words.

And we do further release Your Majesty, from the Obligation of the Oath which we are informed was taken by you in the General Estates of the said Kingdoms and Principalities, never to expel the said Infidels; absolving you from all Censures, and Penalties of the guilt of Perjury, which you might incur thereby; and dispensing with you, as to that Promise, so far as it is necessary. And we do further grant free and full power to the Inquisitors, to compel all that shall contradict the same, or prove refractory, by Ecclesiastical Censures, and other proper and lawful Methods, requiring the assistance of the Secular Arm, if it shall be judged necessary, all Apostolical Constitutions, and all Ordinances, Statutes, and Privileges, of the said Kingdoms and Principality, to the contrary, notwithstanding, though confirmed by an Oath,
and

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and by an Apostolical Confirmation, or by whatsoever other Authority; and notwithstanding it should be provided, that a relaxation from the said Oath should not be desired, nor ever be made use of, if granted: And that the said Privileges should never be by any means abrogated: And that whatsoever shall be done to the prejudice of the same, shall be held as null and void.

And we do exhort your Majesty, by your Letters, to commit the Preaching of the Word of God to the said Moors inhabiting the said Kingdoms and Principality of Catalonia, to our beloved Sons, the Inquisitors of Heretical Pravity, deputed, or to be deputed in the said Kingdoms and Principality, to open the way of Truth and Salvation to the Faithful. And in case the Moors do persist in the hardness of their Hearts, and in their Perfidiousness, so as not to embrace the Faith of Christ, within a Term to be prefix'd by the Inquisitors, they shall be commanded, upon pain of perpetual Servitude and Bondage, to depart out of the said Kingdoms and Principality; which if they fail to do within the said term, they shall be all Slaves, and shall be understood to be such.

This Dispensation of the Popes, does plainly discover to the World, how little all Laws, Statutes, and Oaths, though

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confirmed by the *See of Rome*, do signify to the security of the Lives, Liberties, and Property of Subjects that are not Papists, under a Popish Prince: It being impossible for the Wit of Man to frame an Oath fuller to all those purposes, than this was, that is here dispensed with. For, besides that it contained a Promise, never to desire a Dispensation, or if a Dispensation should be offer'd, not to accept, or make use of it; it contain'd a Declaration likewise, that whatsoever should by virtue of any Dispensation, be done to the prejudice thereof, should be null and void, to all Intents and Purposes. An Oath never to desire a Dispensation, or to accept, or make use of none if offer'd; being a matter, the plenitude of the Papal Power, as we see by this, can dispense with, when ever it is for its advantage to do it.

The Emperor was no sooner unty'd from this Branch of his Coronation Oath, than he commanded the chief Inquisitor to send Preachers among the *Moriscoes*, to instruct them in the *Christian Faith*: Sending the following Letter at the same time to all the *Moriscoes*, to let them know what they must expect, if they did not presently embrace it.

Know

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Know ye, that we being moved by the Grace and Inspiration of Almighty God, are resolved, not to suffer any Religion besides the Christian, to be Professed within our Kingdoms and Dominions. Wherefore desiring the Health and Salvation of your Souls, and to rescue you from the Error and Imposture you are under, we do beseech, intreat, and command you all to turn Christians, and immediately to receive the Water of Holy Baptism. To this our Command, if you shall yield a ready Obedience, you shall enjoy all the Liberties and Franchises, that are by the Laws of these Kingdoms enjoyed by Christians, which shall also be preserved to you as to Faithful Subjects. But in case you do prove refractory, we will take some other Course with you. And whereas we are immovably fix'd in this Resolution, we would have you be sensible of the Benefit we intend you thereby, and to conform your selves to God's Will and ours.

Dated at Segovie, the 13th of September, in the Year of our Lord, 1525.

A Proclamation was set forth at the same time by Germana, the Queen Dowager of Ferdinand, Governor of Valentia, commanding all the Moriscoes, under great Penalties, to hear the Preachers that were sent to them ; and commanding the Barons to oblige

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oblige their *Morisco* Vassals to go to Church, and to make use of all the other means of Instruction.

A short time having been allowed for the instructing of the *Moriscoes* in the *Christian Faith*, an Edict was published by the Emperor, commanding all the *Moriscoes* that were not baptized, either to receive *Baptism* immediately, or to depart out of all the *Spanish* Dominions, upon pain of perpetual Servitude and Bondage.

We must not think, that an Affair wherein all the Barons of *Valentia* and *Aragon* were so deeply concerned, could be carried so far without having met with Opposition; for the Council of *Aragon* no sooner heard of the Determination of the Inquisitor General, and of his Junta concerning the *Moriscoes*, than they remonstrated warmly against it to the Emperor, and against the making Use of any Violence, to force those Infidels to turn Christians; which they were positive could not be done, without endangering the Peace of the Kingdom, and involving it in fresh Slaughters; of which Danger, and of the other great Inconveniences which must attend the forcing of the *Moriscoes* to be baptized, they said, His Majesty's Ancestors were so sensible, that tho they had been often vehemently importun'd to it, they

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they would never suffer it to be done, having left their Conversion to their being sufficiently instructed in the Christian Faith, which was the only right Method of converting Infidels to it. To all this, and to a great deal more contained in that warm Remonstrance, the Emperor answered, That things great in themselves always had some great Inconveniency attending them; for which reason, Princes that undertake great Enterprises, always overlook such Inconveniences. He told them, he said this, to let them know, that tho he was not ignorant that the Conversion of the *Moriscoes* must needs give him much Trouble, and must be attended with many Scandals, nevertheless, since he should thereby do God eminent Service, let what will follow upon it, he was resolved, since God had been so gracious to him, as to deliver his Enemy, the *French* King into his Hands, to draw the *Moriscoes*, who were God's Enemies, to his holy Faith: And that since the clearing of all his Dominions of Infidels and Hereticks would be the greatest Expression that he could make of his Thankfulness to God for so great a Mercy, he was determin'd to make it. *Words* (saith a *Spanish* Historian) *certainly worthy of a most Christian Prince, and that one, who had more Tears*

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Tears over his Head than this Emperor had at that time. By which we see plainly, that in some Mens Opinion, the destroying of all that will not be reconciled to the Church of *Rome*, is the most glorious and meritorious Action that any Prince can perform.

In Conformity to this Answer of the Emperor, the Bishop of *Guadix*, Doctor *Escarnier*, Father *John* of *Salamanca*, and Fryar *Anthony de Guevera*, were by the Inquisitor General, and his *Junta*, dispatch'd to *Valencia* as their Commissaries, to require all that had been baptized at the Command of the Commons, upon pain of perpetual Servitude, to come and be confirmed, and upon their repenting of their Apostacy to the *Mahometan* Law, to be absolved from it. These Commissaries were well received in *Valencia* by the Commons, but very ill by the Barons, they being apprehensive the Work they came about, must end either in a great Slaughter of the *Moriscoes*, or in their total Expulsion; of which, now the Emperor was by the Pope released from the Oath he was under not to do it, they lived in a continual Fear.

All or most of the *Moriscoes* that had been compelled by the Commons to receive Baptism, (who were reckoned to have

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been

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been about fifteen or sixteen thousand Families) having, as soon as that Fury was over, returned to the open Profession of the *Mahometan* Law, when they heard of the Commissaries being come, fled with their Wives, Children and Goods, to the Mountains of *Bernia*; and so far were the Barons from stopping them, which they might have done with Ease, that they rather encouraged them to it, hoping by so great a Commotion, to have made the Emperor change his Inquisition Methods; as in all Probability it would have done, had not that young Prince's Head, (which was so full of the Glory of having the *French* King his Prisoner) been by the Inquisitors and their Creatures possessed with a Conceit of that Honour's having been bestowed on *Spain*, for no other Reason, but to oblige her, in Gratitude to Heaven, not to suffer any that were not baptized, to live in any of her Territories. So great Artists are Inquisitors, to give such a turn to all extraordinary Blessings, as well as Calamities, and to all unusual Appearances in the Heavens, tho they are common to other Nations, that are not of their Religion, as to possess their Prince with their being all loud and immediate Calls from God to him, to extirpate all that are Enemies to Popery.

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It was in the Month of *April*, that this great Body of *Moriscoes* fled to the Mountains; and tho the Commissaries did all that they were able, both by great Promises, and by great Threatnings, to have brought them to submit, it was the Middle of *August* before they were brought to it; when seeing Troops coming from all Quarters to attack them, upon a Promise from the Commissaries of a general Pardon for their Apostacies, and all the other Offences which they had committed against the King and the Inquisition, they all came from among the Mountains, and having confessed their Apostacy, and said, they were sorry for it, they were all absolved, and afterwards confirmed; which Confirmation was exactly of a Piece with the Baptism it supposed, having both been procured by an extreme Violence, and without any thing of Instruction in the Christian Faith.

The Work they were sent to do in *Valencia* being thus finished, the Commissaries were preparing to return to *Madrid*, when a Proclamation came forth, commanding all the *Moriscoes* that had never been baptized, upon pain of perpetual Servitude, forthwith to receive that Sacrament; with which Proclamation, Orders were sent to the Commissaries to remain

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in *Valencia*, to see it executed by a general Conversion of all the *Moriscoes*.

This general Conversion, as the Spaniards call it, was begun in the City of *Valencia*, where it was soon over, there being but few *Moriscoes* in that City that had not been baptized at the Command of the Commons: But in *Almonacir*, a great Town, that consisted of unbaptiz'd *Moriscoes*, the Gates were shut against the Commissaries; and all that were in it that were able to bear Arms, having taken them up, they declared they would die fighting, rather than be either Slaves or Christians.

This Town was closely besieged by regular Troops, from the twentieth of *October* to the fourteenth of *February*: On which Day, after much Blood had been shed on both sides in Attacks and Sallies, it was taken by Storm, and most of the *Moriscoes* that were in it put to the Sword; the rest had their Lives spared, upon their yielding to be baptized. The Baron of *Cortea* was singular, in being himself as violent as if he had been a Commissary, to force all his Vassals to be christen'd; but his Singularity cost him dear; he, with seventeen more that were in his Company, being killed by the *Moriscoes*, as they were converting them after a very lordly manner. But this general Conversion

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sion no where met with so great Contradiction, as in the Lands belonging to the Duke of *Segorbe*; who, notwithstanding he had the Commissary *Guevera* with him, to satisfy him of the Lawfulness and Expediency of converting Infidels to the Faith in that manner, was nevertheless, of all the Nobles of *Valencia*, the most eager against it.

On the twenty third Day of *November*, the *Moriscoes* of the Valleys of *Segorbe*, *Uxa*, and of *Almanocir*, and of the River of *Monvedro*, having taken up Arms with a full purpose to die, rather than turn Christians, they repaired with their Wives, Children and Goods, to the Mountains of *Espadon*, resolving to lay their Bones there, if they should not be able to obtain leave to live quietly in the Possession of the *Mahometan* Law. Upon the News of this great Insurrection, three thousand Disciplined Men were, by Queen *Germana*, sent with the Commissaries, to have suppress'd it in the beginning; but those Apostolical Troops being neither numerous enough to Invest that long Ridge of steep Mountains, nor brave enough to Assault them, they gave the *Moriscoes* but little disturbance; who falselying out frequently by Night in great Bodies, return'd laden with Provisions; of

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which they had likewise good Store from the *Moriscoes* that lived near those Mountains, who, tho' they had been Baptised, did use to say, that they did not grudge to give the Bread out of their own, and their Childrens Mouths, to feed *Musselmen*, who were fighting for the Honour of their Prophet *Mahomet*. Christians worthy of forc'd Conversions, Baptisms, and Confirmations! In their Sallies, the *Moriscoes* are said to have given no Quarter to old Christians, and to have destroy'd all the Churches, Images, and Relicks that they met with: This Insurrection growing daily more formidable, the Standard of *Valencia*, which all the Barons are bound to follow when it takes the Field, was sent to the Mountains of *Espadon*; but it was so thinly attended there, that the *Moriscoes*, after it was set up, were as little disturbed as they were before.

The Emperor, who was at that time at *Toledo*, perceiving that the *Spanish* armed Apostles, had neither Faith enough to remove the Mountains of *Espadon*, nor Courage enough to storm them, dispatched three thousand *Germans* he had with him, with exprefs Orders to assault those Mountaineers without breaking Ground; which the *Germans*, having joyned the *Spaniards*, did so vigorously the Morning after they arrived, that before

Noon

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Noon they had made themselves Masters of the Mountains, and did put all the *Moriscoes*, Men, Women and Children, that they met with, to the Sword; whereas the *Spaniards* killed only the old People, giving the Young their Lives, on condition that they would be Baptized; tho' after they had been Christened by the Commissaries, they sold them for Slaves, which was the Punishment of their Rebellion.

Above five thousand *Moriscoes* were killed in this Action, but not above sixty three *Germans* and *Spaniards*; among the Wounded of which Nation, was the Commissary, Fryar *Guevera*, as he himself tells us, boasting of it as of an Apostolical Honour.

Such was the *General Conversion* of the *Moriscoes* of *Valencia*, saith a *Spanish* Historian, which was begun on September, in the Year 1524. and was finished on October, in the Year 1525. and for my part I cannot but say, to the great Dishonour of Christianity, its Professors having made use of Methods worse than the *Mahometan*, to convert *Mahometans* to its Faith; I say, worse than the *Mahometan*, because, tho it is true, that the Sword was by the Impostor *Mahomet* appointed to be the great Instrument of propagating his Religion thro' the World; yet he gave the

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Sword a Commission only to conquer Nations to that End; but not to compel the Conquered personally to profess his Faith; leaving that to the Advantages and Encouragements which do naturally attend a Religion that is regnant.

But tho the Emperor was by the Pope and his Agents perswaded (to the great Profanation of the Sacrament of Baptism) by these extream violent Methods to compel all the *Moriscoes* to be baptized, he was nevertheless so far from being willing that they should be all driven out of *Spain*, that he did all he was able to prevent their leaving it; witness his imposing it as an Article in his Agreement with *Hazem* King of *Tunis*, when he was restored by him to his Kingdom, That he should never suffer any of the *Moriscoes* of *Valencia*, *Granada*, or of any other Part of *Spain*, to harbour within any of his Dominions, which was the Country they commonly fled to.

The *Moriscoes*, that did not own their having ever been baptized, perceiving that there was no Remedy, but that they must either leave their Native Countries, or be Slaves in it, if they did not turn Christians, the Generality of them did receive Baptism. Only about *Pianaguazil*, where the Unbaptized were very numerous, they took

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took up Arms to defend themselves against it; but being quickly subdued, they were forc'd likewise to receive that Sacrament: So that after the Year 1526 there was not a *Morisco* left in *Spain*, that had not been baptiz'd.

As such forced Conversions as these must necessarily make work for the Inquisition; so that Court having now got all the *Moriscoes* directly under its Jurisdiction, did begin presently to exercise its customary Cruelties upon them; vast Numbers of them being burnt every Year, for having apostatiz'd from Christianity to the *Mahometan* Sect.

The Barons whose original Power was much lessened, since the late Rebellion of the Commons, notwithstanding they had been the chief Sufferers in it, whilst it lasted, did petition the Emperor that a stop might be put to the Cruelties exercised by the Inquisition upon the *Moriscoes*, until they were better instructed in a Religion, which they had been so lately compelled to profess: The Emperor Judging this Petition of the Barons not to be unreasonable, agreed to it, and (having Power from the Pope so to do, he) suspended the Jurisdiction of the Inquisition as to the *Moriscoes*, until they were more fully instructed in the *Christian Faith*, ordering the chief Inquisitor

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quisitor at the same time, to send greater Numbers of Preachers among them, and to charge them not to give over Preaching, until they had fully instructed and settled them in the true Religion. Among the Fryars of this Mission, there was one *John Micon*, a *Dominican*, who having preach'd a great many Sermons to little or no purpose, he did in a fit of Zeal, one day, from the Pulpit, command the *Moriscoes* that were his Auditors, to go and fetch a dead Body, that he might raise it to Life, before their Eyes, to confirm the Truth of the Doctrines he had preached to them; but the *Moriscoes* either having no dead Body ready, or not daring to fetch one; because if they had, they would thereby have discovered that they were at least doubtful in the Faith; which, with the Inquisition, is the same thing as to deny it, the Experiment was not try'd, and the Fryar came down triumphant from the Pulpit, insulting over the *Moriscoes* as Infidels that were so strongly prejudic'd against the *Christian Faith*, that they were not willing to see a Miracle wrought, to convince them of its Truth, when he had offer'd, for that purpose, to have wrought one before their Eyes.

The Fryars, and particularly *Micon*, the Pretender to Miracles, growing weary of preach-

preaching to the *Moriscoes*, did, according to their Custom, fill the Court, and the whole Country, with such loud Exclamations of their prodigious Obstinacy in the *Mahometan Sect*, that the Inquisitors were let loose upon them again, as the only Apostles that had the right Methods of converting such Infidels, if it was possible to convert them to the Faith; under whose severe Discipline of Racking, Whipping, Banishing and Burning, the *Moriscoes* having continued for several Years, the Barons in a *Cortez* assembled at *Moton*, in the Year 1534, complained of those Severities; representing it as a very unjust thing in the Inquisition, to punish those who had been so lately forced to be baptized, when convicted of Apostacy, with the same Rigors that they did old Christians, who had been born and bred in the Faith, that were found guilty of the same Crime; And having no Hopes of being able a second time to procure a Suspension of the Authority of the Inquisition, they laboured hard to obtain a thing that they reckoned was next door to it: which was, That the Inquisitors, in Consideration of the Sum of Fifty Thousand Soldos, that should be paid to them yearly, by the Communities of the *Moriscoes*, should have no Share either in the real or personal E.

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Estate of any *Morisco* that was condemned by them ; their real Estates being to go to their Lords, and their personal to their Heirs at Law : By which Bargain, to which the Inquisitors were with much ado brought to agree, the Barons did hope the Edge of their Zeal, against the *Moriscoes*, would be very much abated, by not being continually whetted by Covetousness, as it had been before ; whilst they were in a manner Heirs to all that they condemned.

But tho this Agreement with the Inquisition was made wholly by the Power and Interest of the Barons, it was afterwards objected against the *Moriscoes* as an Evidence of their being *Hereticks* or *Infidels*; *Because none but such*, said the Inquisitors, *would pay so much Money yearly, on purpose to mitigate the Punishments of Hereticks and Apostates.*

In a Letter written by *Lewis Bertram*, a *Dominican Fryar*, in the Year 1579. to the Duke of *Neguiera*, Vice-Roy of *Valencia*, we meet with an Account of the State the New Converts were in at that time, and of the Methods that Fryar, who has been beatify'd by the Pope, did judge to be the most proper to make them true Catholics.

Fryar

Fryar Bertram's Letter to the Duke
of Neguiera.

Most Illustrious and Excellent Lord,

HAVING first commended the Affairs of the
New Christians to God, The great Hard-
ness of Heart that is in most of them (I pray
God it be not in them all) being supposed, and
that they are all Hereticks, or (which is worse)
Apostates, who do plainly discover an Aversio-
n for the Christian Religion, and do, so far
as they are able, observe all the Rites of Ma-
homet's Alcoran (keeping their Children also
from being Christians, when they find them
disposed to it.) And it being supposed like-
wise, that tho it is now about fifty Tears since
they were all baptized, that they are as far as
ever they were from being true Christians:
All these things, I say, being supposed, and
that mild and merciful Methods will never
do any good with them: My Opinion is, that
the Secular and Ecclesiastick Princes ought to
use one of these two Remedies with them. First,
To oblige them by rigorous Punishments to ob-
serve the Christian Religion, and to forsake
the Sect of Mahomet. [Neither is their ha-
ving been forc'd in the times of the Communi-
ties, and since, to be baptized, sufficient to
keep

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keep them from being treated after such a manner : For notwithstanding that was not well done, and I would to God it had never been ; the Consequences thereof having taught us abundantly, how much better it would have been, to have observed the Custom of the Church, as it is well declared by St. Thomas : Nevertheless, those who were then compelled to be Baptized, did, in some Sense, consent to it ; and of the Moriscoes that are now living, there is not one in twenty that has not been Baptized when they were Infants ; and it is certain, from the Determination of the Church, that such may be obliged no less than old Christians, to observe the Christian Faith, tho at the same time, if they should turn Hereticks, or Apostates, I think they ought not to be punished as rigorously as if they were old Christians.]

In order to the making this first Remedy effectual, the Moriscoes must be made to lose the Arabick Tongue, otherwise their Women and Children will not understand their Preachers and Confessors, and must be commanded, under pecuniary Mulcts, not to speak that Language ; they must also be forced to go to Church on Sundays and Holydays ; and no Morisca Woman must have leave to marry, before she can repeat the Christian Doctrine.

The Second Remedy, if the First be not used, is, Not to suffer the Sacrament of Baptism

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ism to be administred to the Children of any of the Moriscoes, without taking them from their Parents; since it is morally certain, that if they continue with their Parents, they will make them all Apostates, being so themselves: And it is much better the Moriscoes should always be Mahometans, than be either Apostates or Hereticks.

Such Representations as these, of the Infidelity of the Moriscoes, coming from all Quarters, Philip the IId. who had the Secret of reconciling several Enormous Vices to a very hot Zeal for Religion, was calling Assemblies continually, either at Madrid, or at Valencia, to find out ways to bring his Morisco Subjects to be true Christians. In one of those Assemblies, after a long and diligent Enquiry into the true Causes of this Obstinacy of the Moriscoes, it was judg'd to flow chiefly from their having never been sufficiently instructed in the Christian Faith. The Fryars, who thorow several Ages had been sent to preach to them, besides their having never had Patience to stay long enough among them, to instruct such vast Numbers sufficiently in a new Religion, were generally so angry with the Moriscoes, for not being converted by their first or second Sermon, that afterwards they did little else than rail at them and

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Mahomet, calling them obstinate Dogs, and *Mahomet* a Devil incarnate. And as to the Vicars, who had the Cure of their Souls, as their Benefices were very small so they were generally too mean Clerks to be able to do Christianity so great a Service. For the better Instruction of the *Moriscoes*, the King was therefore desirous to supplicate the Pope, to give way to the augmenting of their Vicaridges, and to the building and endowing of new Churches and Chappels among them, out of the Ecclesiastical Revenues of *Valencia*, to the encouraging of Priests, of Learning, Piety, and all other necessary Qualifications to accept of the *Morisco* Curacies, and to continue and labour in them, to the instructing and edifying of their Souls.

The King approving of this Advice when it was offered him, rather than that of his Confessor Father *Pedro Fernandez* (whose Heart the King is said to have broke, because he would not be persuaded by him, that he was bound in Conscience to rid *Spain* of all the *Moriscoes*, since they were never to be made true Christians) did, by his Ambassador at the Court of *Rome*, obtain a Breve from *Gregory XIII.* bearing Date the 16th of *June*, 1576. charging the Rents of the Archbishoprick of *Valencia* with a Yearly Pension

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of three thousand and six hundred Ducats, and all the other Bishopricks, and Ecclesiastical Dignities, with Yearly Pensions in Proportion to their Revenues towards the forementioned pious Uses.

This *Papal Breve* was so far from being of any Advantage to the Conversion of the *Moriscoes*, that it may justly be reckoned among the things that promoted their Expulsion.

The Archbishop and other Ecclesiasticks, whose Rents were already charg'd with considerable yearly Pensions, towards the defraying of the Charges of instructing the *Moriscoes* in the Christian Faith, being so provoked by this new and great Charge, that they did never give over solliciting their Princes to rid *Spain* of them, as of incorrigible Hereticks and Apostates, on whom all the Means and Charges of Instruction were Pains and Money thrown away; representing them as Rebels likewise, who had invited the *Moors*, *Turks*, *French*, *English*, and *Dutch*, to invade *Spain*, by Promises of assisting them to conquer it; and by assuring them, that it might be done with a great deal of Ease, *Spain* having neither Men nor Money to defend her.

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The Archbishop, that his having deny'd to pay this new Pension (which, as we shall see hereafter, was never paid by him, nor by any of his Clergy) might not be thought to flow from his Covetousness, or from his Want of Zeal to convert such a Multitude of Infidels within his Province to the Christian Faith, did at this time give out, That he would prefer no Clerk to the Benefices in his Gift, but from the *Morisco* Vicaridges; and that they who went among the *Moriscoes*, and did take the most pains to instruct them, should be considered by him above all others. And whereas by the Laws of *Valencia*, none that were not Natives, were capable of enjoying any Benefice in it with Cure of Souls, that Law was dispens'd with as to all the *Morisco* Vicaridges, and Priests of any Nation were made capable of holding them. We do not read of the *Morisco* Vicaridges having been filled with better or abler Clerks upon this Promise of the Archbishop's, as it is probable they would, had their Rents been considerably augmented, as the King would have had them; neither do we read of any Priests coming from the other Kingdoms of *Spain*, upon their having been made capable of enjoying the poor *Morisco* Vicaridges in *Valencia*: So that as to their Religion,

ligion, the *Moriscoes* of that Kingdom continued in much the same State until the Year 1596; when the King having been inform'd, that to pardon the *Moriscoes* all their past Apostacies, was the most likely way to make them true Christians for the future, he obtained the following Edict of Grace of the *Pope*, for that purpose.

An E D I C T of Grace.

To our Venerable Brethren, the Archbishop of *Valencia*, the Bishops of *Tortosa*, *Segorve*, and *Origuela*, Pope *Clement VIIIth*, Health, and Apostolical Benediction.

O U R most dear Son in Christ, Philip, the Catholick King of Spain, having propos'd to us, That treading in the Footsteps of his Father, Charles the Vth, of Glorious Memory, he has with the Authority of the Chief Pontiffs, our Predecessors, laboured to have the *Moriscoes* of *Valencia*, and other new Converts to Christianity, fully instructed in the Catholick Faith, and that he has been assured by grave and honest Men, of the said *Moriscoes* continuing still Mahometans;

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metans; He does therefore humbly supplicate us, to administer such Remedies as are most proper for the thorow Conversion of the said Moriscoes, or new Converts; In answer whereto, we, according to our Pastoral Office, and Apostolical Authority, have not been wanting to administer such Remedies as we could.

But whereas during the time wherein those People are to be instructed; or during the time or times of Grace, concerning which Edicts will be published, the said Moriscoes, or new Converts may, and we trust in God's Mercy, will frequent the Church; or, will at least, at the time the Church hath appointed, go to the most healthful and necessary Sacrament of Penance, and may, peradventure confess in the Court of Conscience, divers Sins, Transgressions, Sacrileges, and other Crimes, as also Heresies, Errors, and Apostacy from the Faith, and the having observed the Rites and Ceremonies of the Mahometan Sect, or of the Law of Moses: Wherefore, that sufficient Authority may not be wanting, to absolve those in the Court of Conscience who have been guilty of the said or the like Sins; We, who have nothing so much in our Thoughts, as the Reduction of straying Sheep to the Fold of our Lord, and earnestly desiring the aforesaid true, sincere, and perfect Conversion of the said Moriscoes, or new Converts, and the Removal

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removal of all the Impediments which may any ways hinder or retard the same, confiding in the Prudence, Piety, and Zeal for the Holy Catholick Faith, which are in every one of you, do grant Faculty, Authority, and Power, to all, and every one of you, (but within your own Dioceses and Jurisdictions only) to name and depute some Pious, Prudent and Holy Priests, who are Doctors of Divinity, or Doctors of Canon Law, or Preachers of the Word of God; or others, who are by their Learning, Lives, and Prudence, qualified and appointed to hear the Confessions of the Faithful, whether Seculars or Regulars of whatsoever Order, and as many as you shall judge to be necessary to hear the Confessions of the said Moriscoes or new Converts, and of all such as have relieved and encouraged them, and to absolve all such only in the Court of Conscience from all Heresies or Errors, or Apostacies from the Christian Faith, tho often repeated, and notwithstanding they have been abjured in Judgment, and of all other such Sins, Excesses, and Crimes, and of all that have been occasioned by them, and for having read, and retained the Books of the Mahometan Sect, or which are otherwise prohibited; and also of Hereticks who are involved in Ecclesiastical Censures, and from the Ecclesiastical Censures of the Excommunication, Suspension, and Interdict pronounced de jure,

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or ab homine, or on any Occasion or Cause, or in the other Cases, which are any ways reserved to us, and the Apostolical See, those which are read every Year, on the Day of Cœna Domini not excepted, and notwithstanding they may have often committed the same, and have often relapsed; provided that they do not know of their being accused thereof in Judgment, or have not been condemned as Hereticks and Apostates; but shall, during the time or times of their Instruction, or of this Grace, appear voluntarily before the Inquisitors, that they may provide faithful Medicines for them; on condition, that during the said time of Instruction, or times of Grace, they do with a sincere Heart, and true Faith, confess themselves, and humbly desire and receive Penance; and do anathematize and abjure their Apostacy from the Faith, and their said Heresies and Errors, humbly begging to be admitted into the Bosom of holy Mother Church, and promising, with the usual Oath, for the future, to abstain from the like Apostacies, Heresies and Errors; there being imposed on every one of them at the pleasure of the said Confessors, healthful Penances, according to the Quality of their Faults and Excesses, being such as shall be judged to be proper for the Medicine and Health of their Souls, provided they be not pecuniary.

By the Tenor of these Presents, and with our Apostolical Authority, we do grant and

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confirm, that they may absolve, reconcile and admit into the Bosom of Holy Mother Church, for the space of four Years only, all Apostolical Constitutions, Ordinances, Privileges, Indults, and the Letters which are used to be read on the Day of Cœna Domini, and other Apostolical Letters whatsoever; As also all Constitutions to the Inquisitors of Spain, of what sort soever they are, granted, approved, or renewed, to the contrary notwithstanding, &c.

If the Four Years of Grace, granted by this Edict to the Moriscoes, did commence from the Date of the Edict, as it is more than probable they did, above one half of that Term was elapsed, before the Moriscoes could reap any Benefit by it; which they could not do until it was published in *Valencia*; which we are certain it was not, from the following Letter of Philip the III^d. till after the 6th of August, 1599. Whereas the Edict was dated at Rome on the 28th of February, 1597.

Philip the III^d's Letter to the Bishop of Valencia.

Reverend Father in Christ, and well Beloved Counsellor.

THE Inquisitor General has sent me a Subdelegation, which he hath made to the Inquisitors of his Holiness's Breve for the

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Edict of Grace, which he will grant to the New Converts of this my Kingdom of Valentia; in which there is a Clause, that he shall with your Concurrence, and that of the other Prelates in their several Districts, name Commissaries. I have remitted it to him again, with my Letter and Order, that he should communicate with you and the rest of the Prelates; concerning the Nomination of the said Commissaries, and the Publication and Execution of the said Edict of Grace. I do desire and charge you to apply your self to this Affair, with that Efficacy and Warmth, which your Office, and the Zeal and Care you have always discovered for so Holy a Work (which is so much for the good of those People, and the Service of our Lord) obligeth you to, which will be well taken of you by me.

Dated at Denia, the 6th of August,
1599.

We are not any where told the Reason why the Publication of this Edict of Grace was deferred so long, only it appears from this Letter of the King's, that two Years and a half after that Edict was, upon the Supplication of Philip II, granted by the Pope; the Inquisitor-General, and the Bishops of Valencia, to whom the Nomination

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tion of the Commissaries who were to publish that Edict was left, had not named them, and that at last the King was forc'd to interpose his Authority, and require them to do it.

What was the Success of this Edict of Grace, and how they who were entrusted with its Execution stood affected to the *Moriscoes*, will plainly appear by the Memorials, which immediately after its Expiration were given in to the King by the Archbishop of *Valencia* ; the Substance of which Memorials I shall here set down in that Prelate's own Words.

In his first Memorial presented to the King, in *January*, 1602. he begins thus ;
Being compelled by the Love which, as a most faithful Subject, and humble Chaplain, I have for your Majesty's Service, and for the Preservation and Augmentation of your Royal Crown, I could not forbear to acquaint your Majesty with my Thoughts of the Affair of the *Moriscoes* ; humbly beseeching your Majesty to receive them with your customary Clemency and Benignity. As to the *Moriscoes* of *Valencia*, we do certainly know them to be all *Mahometans*, and that as far as they are able, they do observe all the Rites of the *Al-*
coran,

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‘coran, and do despise all the Laws
 ‘the *Catholick Church*. For besides all the
 ‘former Evidences we had of this, they
 ‘have now given us a fresh Evidence
 ‘it, since the *Edict of Grace* was pub-
 ‘lished among them; in that we have
 ‘been able to perswade one of that Rank
 ‘to make use of it. For I did plainly dis-
 ‘cover by the Conferences I my self had
 ‘with their chief Men, that they are
 ‘in Correspondence one with another
 ‘and did all speak, as it were, with the
 ‘same Mouth; the Answer they univer-
 ‘sally gave us, being, *That they were true*
 ‘*Christians, and did intend to continue so*
 ‘*That they had learnt the Christian Do-*
 ‘*ctrine, or Catechism, when they were*
 ‘*Children, and did send their Children to*
 ‘*learn it: That they confessed themselves to*
 ‘*their Curates, and had never concealed any*
 ‘*of their Sins in Confession: That they*
 ‘*knew of none that lived in the Mahometan*
 ‘*Sect, and were not at leisure to pry into*
 ‘*Peoples Conversations, or into what they did*
 ‘*in their Families.* And when upon having
 ‘received these Answers from them, I
 ‘have convicted them of having lied to
 ‘me, they did then either remain silent,
 ‘or did repeat the same Answers again.
 ‘The *Mahometan* Fast, which hapned to
 ‘be at that very time, was kept by them

‘with

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with greater Strictness than they had ever observ'd it before ; as were also all the other Rites and Solemnities of that Sect. This is a true Account of what passed in my Bishoprick ; in which only 6 Women gave any sign of being reduced ; and them we had no great reason to trust neither, Experience having taught us, that when they are at any time discontented with their Parents, or Husbands, they will then, in a Passion, pretend to turn Christians, but without having ever seriously intended to do it ; and I have been so often deceived by them, that I am come now not to trust them, unless they do give me very good Pledges of their Sincerity, which few of them care to give ; and when urged to it, do commonly discover their Hypocrisy. He goeth on ;

If *Spain* was formerly lost in the time of King *Rodrigo*, by one single Person's going over to the *Moors*, in how great Danger must *Spain* be now, when it appears from the Lists that were taken in the late King's Reign, that there were 90000 *Moriscoes* in this Kingdom, that were able to bear Arms ; who having been all born and bred among us, are perfectly acquainted with our whole Coasts and Country ; and, who
being

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' being all extremely desirous of living
 ' under a Government which will allow
 ' them Liberty of Conscience, and being
 ' withal unwilling to leave *Spain*, because
 ' of its Fertility, are always prepared to
 ' serve any Tyrant, that will but suffer
 ' them to enjoy the free Exercise of their
 ' Religion? So that *Spain* by having such
 ' People in it, is not only in Danger from
 ' the *Barbary Moors* and *Turks*, but from
 ' the *English* also, and from all the other
 ' Enemies of the Catholick Religion, and
 ' the Crown of *Spain*; and especially at
 ' this time, when the Sect of the Politici-
 ' ans prevails so much, who do permit
 ' Subjects to choose their own Religion.
 ' Consider therefore now, that the Crown
 ' of *Spain* is so generally hated on the ac-
 ' count of its Zeal for the Catholick Reli-
 ' gion, and out of Emulation at its Pro-
 ' sperity, whether it is not possible that
 ' an Enemy should be encouraged to in-
 ' vade us, by having so many among us,
 ' to join with him, and them such, who be-
 ' ing (as they reckon) provoked and
 ' wronged by us, will fight furiously a-
 ' gainst us for their Estate and Religion.
 ' All this, saith he, is so manifest, that
 ' we can never wonder enough, that such
 ' wise and valiant Kings, as *Charles V.*
 ' and *Philip II.* who had such zealous
 ' and

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and experienced Counsellors, have de-
ferred the remedying of so great an E-
vil. In a second Memorial, which he
delivered to the King, within a Month af-
ter the former, he tells the King, ' That
the Remedy for great Evils, Spiritual or
Temporal, was to pluck them up by
the Roots at once. This Doctrine, saith
he, is taught by the Holy Scriptures, in
which there is nothing so often repeated,
and so much inculcated, and particular-
ly on Kings, (who ought to be the Mini-
sters and Executioners of God's Will) as
to look after the Good and Peace of their
Subjects. So the first Rulers that were
appointed of God, were commanded by
him to maintain their Subjects in Peace,
and to destroy all the Cities of their E-
nemies, and all the Inhabitants thereof.
The first King of *Israel* was likewise com-
manded to destroy the *Amalekites*, and
to spare the Life of neither Man, Wo-
man, nor sucking Child; which he ha-
ving forborn to do, he fell under the
Wrath of God for it, and was deprived
of his Kingdom. The second King, who
was *David*, was commanded to destroy
the *Philistines*, which he did. From
which Examples it is manifest, that your
Majesty, as King, and supreme Lord, is
bound in Conscience to defend and pre-
' serve

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‘ serve your Kingdoms, which you can-
 ‘ not do, if you do not banish all the *Mor-*
 ‘ *iscos*, Men, Women, and Children,
 ‘ out of them; only the Children, Male,
 ‘ and Female, that are under seven Years
 ‘ of Age, may be detain’d, and dispersed
 ‘ among the old Christians. And it is the
 ‘ Opinion of Learned Men, that your Ma-
 ‘ jesty may lawfully make all those Chil-
 ‘ dren Slaves; neither would your Maje-
 ‘ sty in banishing all the *Moriscos* out of
 ‘ Spain, do a thing that was never done
 ‘ before by any of your Ancestors; your
 ‘ Majesty’s Catholick Ancestors having in
 ‘ the Year 1592. expelled all the *Jews* out
 ‘ of Spain, to the Number of four and
 ‘ twenty thousand Families.

‘ Your Majesty’s Grand-father, *Charles*
 ‘ V. did likewise command all the *Morif-*
 ‘ *coes* to depart out of these Kingdoms, if
 ‘ they would not be baptized; that Em-
 ‘ peror hoping, that by having baptized
 ‘ them, they would, of Enemies, become
 ‘ our Friends; which they were so far
 ‘ from, that they became more our Ene-
 ‘ mies than they had been before; so that
 ‘ we have all great cause to lament its ha-
 ‘ ving ever been done. Neither will your
 ‘ Majesty, in expelling all the *Moriscos*,
 ‘ do any more than our Chronicles tell us
 ‘ hath been done anciently in Spain. King

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Sisebut, in the Year 614, commanded all the *Jews* in *Spain* to be baptized, upon Pain of perpetual Banishment; and upon those *Jews* having afterwards apostatiz'd, King *Egyra* made complaint thereof to the Council of *Toledo*; which decreed, that the Estates of all those Apostates were forfeited to the King; and the said Council of *Toledo* did praise God, and King *Cinthilana*, for the Resolution he had taken, of not suffering any that were not *Catholicks*, to live in *Spain*.

All this I lay at your Majesty's Feet, having been moved to trouble you with it, for the Promotion of God's and your Majesty's Service, and to acquaint you with the imminent danger *Spain* is in. Wherefore, as your Majesty's most faithful Subject and Chaplain, I do humbly supplicate you, to lay this Affair of the *Moriscoes* before your Council, as the weightiest of your whole Government, and that the Resolution which shall be taken, may be speedily executed: For the *Moriscoes* do encrease in Number daily, and we do decrease; so that in a few Years they will be more in Number than the old *Christians*; for at the same time that there are abundance of Towns in old *Castile*, and *Andalusia* quite depopulated and ruined, the Towns of the *Moriscoes* are

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‘ are flourishing, and full of People; so
 ‘ that your Majesty, in expelling all the
 ‘ *Moriscoes*, will do a thing worthy of
 ‘ your self, and that will give you the
 ‘ Honour of having conquer’d *Spain* a se-
 ‘ cond time.

And in a third Memorial, deliver’d to
 the King by the same Archbishop a few
 Weeks after, he declared, that tho at the
 Writing of that he was 72 Years old, he
 was afraid, that if his Majesty did not
 drive all the *Moriscoes* out of *Spain* quick-
 ly, that he might live to see it ruined a se-
 cond time by the *Moors*.

But the Archbishop was not satisfied
 with having thus vehemently sollicitated the
 King to expel all the *Moriscoes*, but he did
 farther take upon him to direct the King
 how it might be executed; telling him in
 a Paper he put into his Hands presently
 after the former Memorials;

‘ That after having thought much on
 ‘ the Affair of the *Moriscoes*, and recom-
 ‘ mended it to God, and consulted the
 ‘ Scriptures, and divers grave and learned
 ‘ Men about it; What he had to offer to
 ‘ his Majesty, was, That his Majesty should
 ‘ command an Information of all Heresies
 ‘ and Apostacies to be taken by the Bishops
 ‘ and Curates of all the Cities and Towns
 ‘ wherein any *Moriscoes* lived, who must
 ‘ be

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‘ be examined whether they do go to Confession, and do communicate, and whether they do eat Swine’s Flesh, and drink Wine, and it may be enquired whether they do not very much encrease and multiply, and have not an Abhorrence for *Christians*, and an Affection for *Mahometans*, and are not disposed to joyn with any Prince that will allow them the Liberty of their Consciences. And if upon such an Information’s being taken, the *Moriscoes* should be found guilty, as they certainly will, they may thereupon be condemned to lose all their Goods, and to perpetual Banishment out of the Kingdom, within a prefix’d Term, which ought to be but short.

‘ And tho it is true, (he goes on) that thorough the Notoriety of their Guilt, the taking of such an Information is not in the Rigor of Justice necessary, nevertheless, since the taking of it will tend to the Justification of your Majesty’s proceeding with the *Moriscoes*, it is convenient that it should be taken: neither will any then be able to condemn the foresaid Sentence, which will be agreeable both to the Canon and Civil Law; according to which, in this Case, the Confiscation of their Goods, and their Banishment, will be Graces; and not

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' Rigors; since upon being convicted of
 ' Heresies, and not only so, but of being
 ' *Dogmatists* in Heresy, in breeding up
 ' their Children in the *Mahometan Sect*,
 ' they might justly have been punished
 ' capitally. Neither can it be pretended,
 ' that there is any Injustice in condemning
 ' the *Moriscoes* thus, without hearing what
 ' they have to say in their own Defence,
 ' since the Evidence and Notoriety both of
 ' the Fact and the Law does supply that
 ' Defect; and would supply it abundant-
 ' ly, though they were to be punished ca-
 ' pitally; it being most certain, that a
 ' Prince, when both the Crime, and the
 ' Necessity of punishing it are notorious,
 ' may omit all Judicial Forms, and espe-
 ' cially when they cannot be safely obser-
 ' ved, as they cannot in this Case; in
 ' which to prevent publick Disturbances,
 ' it is necessary, that the Sentence and its
 ' Execution should go together. And
 ' though it may not seem to be so proper
 ' for one of my Profession, as for your Ma-
 ' jesty's Council of State, who must have
 ' the Example of the Expulsion of the *Jews*
 ' before them, to give Directions about
 ' the Expulsion of the *Moriscoes*, I shall
 ' nevertheless humbly offer my Thoughts
 ' to your Majesty concerning it: Which
 ' are, That it must not be attempted with-

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out having a good Army and Fleet in readiness, to prevent Insurrections. And I have always reckoned your Majesty's unprosperous Attempt upon *Algiers*, to have been a particular Providence of God, graciously disposing things for your Majesty's Advantage. Now that Loss will serve for a Blind for your Majesty's Preparation by Sea and Land, to expel all the *Moriscoes*; the World being of Opinion, that that Attempt upon *Algiers* having been your Majesty's first Enterprize, you will not sit down with that Loss. Your Majesty may, if you please, take four thousand of the stoutest young Men among the *Moriscoes*, and under a Pretence of employing them in your Service, send them to your Gallies, as *Heraclius* the Emperor did with the *Saracens*: You may also send some Thousands of them to your Mines in the *Indies*, and so go on consuming them, and preserving your old Christian Subjects.

And though it is sufficient to engage your Majesty to rid *Spain* of all the *Moriscoes*; only to let you know that you are bound in Conscience, and under the pain of a mortal Sin, to do it; nevertheless, since the expelling of them will be attended with great Advantages, both Spiritual and Temporal, I cannot for-

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' bear laying some of them before your Majesty.

1. *The Prelates and Curates will thereby be freed from the Scruples they are under ; and which if they understand any thing of Divinity, they cannot but have, about baptizing those who they know will be Apostates.*

2. *Your Majesty, by selling all the Children of the Moriscoes that are under seven Years old, who are reckoned to be above five and thirty thousand, will both receive a good Sum of Money, and will gain a great many Subjects, who being sold to old Christians, will all become Catholicks ; and having lost the Language, Habit, and Ceremonies of the Mahometans, will learn and observe those of our Faith.*

3. *Your Majesty may either send the strongest Men among them to your own Gallies, or sell them to old Christians, among whom they cannot use the Mahometan Ceremonies, without being observed, but a special Care must be taken, not to suffer any of the Morisco Men or Women to remain in Spain ; because that will be of ill Consequence to the Morisco Children, which are to be bred in it, in the Christian Faith.*

On this Occasion, saith he, I will repeat what I have often affirmed ; which is, That your Majesty may without any scruple of Conscience,

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science, make Slaves of all the Moriscoes, and may either put them into your own Gallies or Mines, or sell them to Strangers; and whereas their Number is very great, you may, after you have supply'd your own Gallies and Mines, sell the rest of them in Italy: And as to their Children, they may be all sold at good Rates here in Spain; which will be so far from being a Punishment, that it will be a Mercy to them, since by that means they will all become Christians; which they would never have been, had they continued with their Parents: By the holy Execution of which Piece of Justice, a great Sum of Money will flow into your Majesty's Treasury.

Lastly, The Moriscoes being a laborious and industrious People, do, by working cheaper than the Spaniards are able to work, eat the Bread out of the Spaniards Mouths; and being also very frugal and temperate, they do contribute very little to the publick Excises.

The Archbishop, when he was reckoning up the Profits which would accrue to the Spaniards by the Expulsion of the Moriscoes, might, if he had pleased, have mentioned the great Revenue that would return thereby to his own Archbishoprick, which had for a great many Years been charged with a considerable Pension, towards the Maintenance of the Morisco Schools

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Schools and Curacies ; and which in the Year 1597, had by a *Breve* from the Pope been charged with a new yearly Pension of three thousand and six hundred Ducats towards the same pious Uses : Upon which last Pension, not having been paid, the Archbishop at the same time he gave in these Memorials, was commanded by a second *Breve* from the same Pope, to pay the Arrear of the said Pension, which amounted to fourteen thousand and four hundred Ducats, towards the building of a College in the City of *Valencia*, for the instructing of *Morisco* Girls in the *Christian Faith* : To which new Foundation, that the Archbishop was no great Friend, appears not only from his having never paid the said Arrear towards the Building, but also from his having left out of the Copy of the *Papal Breve*, which was printed in Spanish at *Valencia*, all that was said in it of the ancient *Morisco* College, having been of great Advantage to those People : Which, he said, was false ; and that his Holiness had been misinform'd by those that had told him so ; the *Moriscoes* who had been bred in that College, having turn'd afterwards as much *Mahometans* as they could have been, had they never seen it.

While the Archbishop was labouring thus to perswade the King to rid Spain of the

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the *Moriscoes*, the Barons of *Valencia* having been inform'd thereof, did unanimously and passionately remonstrate against it, as the greatest Blow that could possibly be given to that Kingdom; whose Lands, they said, must lie untill'd, and all its rich Manufactures must come to nothing, if the *Moriscoes* were turned out of it; by whom chiefly all those Works were carried on: And having been acquainted with the Arguments that had been used by the Archbishop to perswade the King to it, they represented that of *Spain's* being in great Danger, by reason of its having so many *Moriscoes* in it, to be a meer Chimera or Dream; which when it had been formerly objected, had always been slighted as such by his Majesty's wise Ancestors, who were never governed by the Whimsies and Speculations of sedentary and unexperienced People, though never so holy and learned; challenging the Archbishop, and all others that accused the *Moriscoes* of holding Intelligence with the King's Enemies, to convict them of that Treason upon a fair legal Tryal, that they might be justly punished for it; which they could not be, barely upon a vehement Declamation of their being all guilty of Treason.

And as to the Argument, That the *Moriscoes* were all *Mahometans*; the Barons

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answered, That they did not believe that they were all so ; or if they were, to send them all into *Barbary* would be no good way to convert them to the *Christian Faith* ; adding farther, That if the *Moriscoes* were all *Mahometans*, their being so was owing chiefly to their Ignorance of the *Christian Faith* ; and to the Rigors and Violences wherewith they had been treated, which had made them hate both Christians and their Religion ; and which had hindred them, after they were forced to be baptized, from communicating their Doubts and Scruples to those who might have removed them.

They did therefore beseech his Majesty, not to suffer such severe and rigorous Methods to be used with them any longer, but to plant Preachers among them, who would by tender and gentle Methods insinuate themselves into their Affections ; and after that was once done, the converting of them to Christianity, they said, would be found to be no hard Work : Giving the four following Reasons why this Course, which they affirmed had never yet been tried with the *Moriscoes*, ought to be taken.

First, Because the *Moriscoes*, by having been baptized by Force, and as it were, dragg'd into the Church by the Hair of the Head,

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Head, were so prejudic'd against *Christians*, on the account of that and other consequent Violences which they had used with them, that until that Prejudice was removed, it would not be found possible to reconcile them to *Christianity*; it being natural for all People not to have any Regard to the Words of those they hate, and do reckon to be their Enemies: Therefore all that are sent to preach to the *Moriscoes*, ought to treat them with the same tender Affection wherewith *St. Paul* treated the *Galatians*, after they had apostatiz'd from the Faith which he had taught them.

Secondly, The *Moriscoes* being a rude and ignorant People, ought for that reason to be treated with the more Mildness, by those that endeavour'd to convert them to the Faith: So *John the Baptist* did not treat the Soldiers that came to hear him, with the same Severity he treated the *Scribes* and *Pharisees*; neither did our Lord treat the *Gentiles* and *Samaritans* so rigorously as he did the *Jews*: But commanded his Disciples to go among the *Gentiles* as *Sheep* among the *Wolves*, that they might gain their Hearts by their mild and innocent Behaviour: Wherefore, in order to the reconciling of the *Moriscoes* to the Persons of *Christians*, they desir'd that two things might be done.

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1. That the *Moriscoes* might be comforted and encouraged, by being assured, that the Misery they were under at present for being *New Christians*, would be taken away when ever they did turn *True Christians*, and that notwithstanding they were the last that had come into the Lord's Vineyard, they might so demean themselves therein, as to have an equal Reward with those who had been in the Vineyard before 'em.

2. That such of the *Moriscoes* as were believed to be *True Christians*, might have Offices and Honours conferred on them, and might enjoy all the same Privileges and Immunities which are enjoyed by *Old Christians*.

3. That since the *Mysteries of the Christian Faith* were things of such a Nature, as could not be believed without a pious Affection in the Will, enclining the Understanding to the belief of them; therefore in order to the converting of the *Moriscoes* to the *Christian Faith*; such Methods ought to be used as are proper for the begetting of such a necessary and pious Affection in their Wills; which it was certain, could never be done by Force or Violence, the Will being a Faculty that cannot be forc'd: So that tho Force both might, and ought to be used in such Cases, for the removing of all outward Impediments to Peoples
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embracing of the Faith, it ought not to be used to force the Will; or if it were, it was to no purpose, for they could not be constrained by it to forsake a Religion wherein they believed their Forefathers had been saved, to embrace another Religion, the Evidences of whose Credibility, they, through the Lowness of their Capacities, were not able to understand.

Lastly, That the *Moriscoes* being all but young Christians in the Faith, ought to be cherished and handled tenderly; and all that are employ'd in the converting of them, ought, like skilful Physicians, not to consider only the Malignity of their Distemper, but the Strength also of their Patients, and not to administer Medicines to them which are stronger than they can bear.

And whereas the *Moriscoes* were accused of giving Intelligence to the *Moorish* Pirates, where they might come a-shore, and meet with a good Booty, the *Barons* did, in the Name of the *Moriscoes*, offer to redeem all the Captives, which should at any time be carry'd off the Land of *Valencia*, by any of the *Moorish* Pirates, at the Cost of the *Moriscoes*.

By these Remonstrances of the *Barons*, made in a *Cortes*, in the Year 1604, the King seem'd to be determin'd not to expel the *Moriscoes*, but to go on, endeavouring to

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to make them all *True Christians*; and in order thereunto, so soon as the *Cortes* was over, he dispatched *Don Francisco de Quesada* to *Rome*, with an Honourable Salary, to negotiate the Affair of their Conversion with the Pope, who at that time was *Paul V.* and from whom *Quesada* procur'd a *Breve*, commanding the forementioned *Morisco* College to be Built, and Endowed, and the *Moriscoe* Curacies to be made an hundred Pounds a-piece yearly, to encourage Men of Learning and Probity to supply them. But this *Breve* of *Paul V.* had the same ill Success with the two former *Breves* of his Predecessor, which had commanded the same Endowments and Augmentations to be made.

The repeated Disobedience to so many *Papal Breves*, is enough to encline one to suspect, that the Popes, by whom those *Breves* were granted, tho they did not know well how to deny them to the Kings when they supplicated to have them, yet were not very zealous to have them executed; because, if they had, they would never have endured to have had their Authority baffled thus, and especially in so great and tender a Point as this of their having a Right to apply all the Ecclesiastical Revenues, as they shall judge to be most for the Interest of the whole Church; and

in

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in a case too wherein their Authority in such an Application, was backed by the King's. But whether the Popes, by whom all these ineffectual *Breves* were granted, were thus secretly minded or not, it is certain these *Breves* were entertained by the Archbishop, as if he had known them certainly to have stood so affected as to their Execution. And He therefore, instead of advancing the Arrear due on the Account of the last Pension wherewith his Bishoprick had been charged, gave a Memorial to the King, wherein he pretended to reply to all the Answers which had been given by the *Barons* to his Arguments for the Expelling of the *Moriscoes* out of *Spain*.

i. To the *Barons* having Challenged those that accused the *Moriscoes* of holding a Correspondence with the King's Enemies; to convict them of that Treasonable Practice by a Legal Tryal, that they might be justly punished for it; the Archbishop reply'd, that in a case wherein both the Law and the Fact were so notorious, there was no need of observing the common Forms of Law and Justice; the *Moriscoes* Guilt in this case being Notorious, not only to his Majesty, but to all the *Old Christians* in *Spain*, who could not but observe the great Joy that was among the *Moriscoes*, when they heard of the *Turks*, or the *Moors* having

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ving obtained any Victories over the *Christians*, and particularly the *Spaniards*, and how that Treasonable Joy of theirs had never appeared so barefac'd, and so impudently, as on the occasion of his Majesty's late general Loss in his Attempt upon *Algiers*.

2. To the *Barons* having said, that the *Moriscoes* being young Plants in the Faith, ought for that reason to be tenderly handled and cherished; he reply'd, That the *Moriscoes* were not young Plants, but old barren Trees, that were full of Knots of Heresy and Treasons; the youngest of them having been planted in the Faith above fourscore Years; And that those about *Abula* and *Valedolid* had been planted in it ever since those Countries were taken from the *Moors*; and notwithstanding that they were as much *Mahometans* in their Hearts, as the *Moriscoes* of *Valencia*.

3. To the *Barons* having affirmed, That the *Moriscoes* had never been sufficiently instructed in the Christian Religion; he reply'd, That if their meaning was, that they were not sufficiently instructed in the Doctrines of Christianity, because they would not learn them, that was very true; but if they meant, that they had never had sufficient means of Instruction, it was a great Mistake in them: And supposing it might be

He truly affirmed of some of the *Moriscoes* of *Valencia*, That they had never had sufficient means of Instruction, it could not be affirmed of them all; or if it could of all the *Valencian Moriscoes*, it could not of those of *Aragon* and *Castile*, who, for all that, were known to be in their Hearts as much *Mahometans*, as if they had been born, and had liv'd all their Days in *Tunis*: And for the truth of this, the Archbishop made his Appeal to the Inquisitors, who were ready to testify, That the *Moriscoes*, after having been for two or three Years daily instructed by them in the Doctrine of Christianity, did remain as ignorant of those Doctrines, as they were the first day they were taken up and imprisoned by them.

4. To the Barons having said, That no other than severe and rigorous Methods had ever been used with the *Moriscoes*, to reconcile them to the Christian Faith; he reply'd, That was most false, and was demonstrated to be so by the late Edict of Grace, which had been granted to them to no purpose at all: Affirming further, That the Antipathy which was visible in all the *Moriscoes*, both for the Persons, and Religion of Christians, was too strong and too deeply rooted in their Hearts ever to be overcome by any good Offices.

Lastly,

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Lastly, To the Barons having said, That to banish the *Moriscoes* into *Barbary*, was the way to make them all infallibly *Mahometans*: The Archbishop reply'd, That if the *Moriscoes* were not *Mahometans* already, tho they should be all banished out of *Spain*, yet they needed not to go over to *Barbary*, but they might go into some other Christian Countries, as the *Spaniards* did that were banished: Whereas, if they were all already *Mahometans* in their Hearts, which they certainly were, it was much better that they should be so at *Tunis*, where their Example could do no hurt; than that they should be so in *Spain*, where it did much Mischief; some Christians, and of Noble Families, having been lately perverted by their bad Example.

The Archbishop was seconded in these his Instances, by the Bishop of *Origuela*, one of his Suffragans, who exhorted the King to destroy all the *Moriscoes*, as followeth.

‘As it is notorious that the *Moriscoes* did
 ‘never embrace the Christian Religion with
 ‘their Hearts, so the great danger we old
 ‘Christians are all in, by our having such
 ‘vast Numbers of those Infidels among
 ‘us; and the Treasons they are continu-
 ‘ally plotting against us, and the Rancor
 ‘and

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and Hatred wherewith they do abominate both us and our Religion, and the Affection they have for the *Moors* of *Africk*, and their great Diligence to discover all our Secrets, that they may communicate them to the Enemies of the Christian Commonwealth, ought to alarm a Christian Prince, so as not to delay to secure *Spain* against such Domestick Enemies. It being much better and surer, as Cardinal *Torquemada* observed, for us to destroy the *Moriscoes*, than to continue doubtful and scrupulous whether we may lawfully do it or not, until we are destroyed by them.

But the great Trumpeter to the Expulsion, was one *James Bleda*, a *Dominican Fryar*, who for several Years was continually footing it betwixt the Courts of *Madrid* and *Rome*, to excite the King and the Pope to turn all the *Moriscoes* out of *Spain*, or to destroy them all in it; And as this hot-headed Fryar did call all the Ecclesiasticks that did not bark against the *Moriscoes* as loud as he had done, *Dumb Dogs*; so he did assure all the old Christian Laity, that whenever the King should give the word, they might without any Scruple of Conscience, cut the Throats of all the *Moriscoes*, and not spare any of them upon their professing themselves Christians, but follow the holy and

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laudable Example of the *Croisado* that was raised against the *Albigenses*; who upon their having made themselves Masters of the City of *Bezeir*, wherein were two hundred thousand *Catholicks* and *Hereticks*, did ask Father *Arnold*, a *Cistercian Monk*, who was their chief Preacher, *Whether they should put any to the Sword that pretended to be Catholicks?* And were answered by the holy Abbot, *That they should kill all without Distinction, and leave it to God, who knew his own, to reward them for being true Catholicks in the next World;* which was accordingly executed.

The same Advice with this of *Abbot Arnold*, was given to the *Irish Papists* by *Con à Mahony*, an *Irish Jesuit*, in a Book printed by him at *Lisbon*, but which pretended to be printed at *Frankford*, in the Year 1645; in which Book we meet with the following *Exhortation* to his Country-men, to cut the Throats of all the *Protestants* in *Ireland*.

My Dear Irish, go on, and perfect the work of your Liberty and Defence, which is so happily begun by you, and kill all the Hereticks, and all that do assist and defend them. You have in the space of four or five Years (that is, betwixt the Year 1641, and the Year 1645.) wherein I write this, killed an hundred and fifty thousand Hereticks, as your Enemies do acknowledge;

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neither do you deny it. And for my own part, as I do verily believe that you have killed more of them, so I would to God you had killed them all; which you must either do, or drive them all out of Ireland, that our Holy Land may be plagued no longer with such a light, changeable, inconstant, barbarous, ignorant and lawless Generation of People. Neither was this Jesuit one jot more merciful to the King than he was to his Protestant Subjects; concerning whom he saith in the same Exhortation: *We Catholick Irish, will not, nor never would, neither ought we, to suffer our Country to be ruled by a proud King, who calls himself the Head of the Church: Let us therefore chuse a Catholick King from among our own Brethren, and let us have Irish Catholick Judges and Magistrates to rule us in all Matters Temporal, and the Pope in all Matters Spiritual.*

But to return to the *Moriscoes* :

The most Powerful Promoter of their Expulsion, was *Don Bernardo de Rojas y Sandoval*, Cardinal, Archbishop of Toledo, and Inquisitor-General, and Chancellor of Spain. This great Prelate, who was Brother to the Duke of Lerma, by whom the King, for some years before, and for some years after the Expulsion was absolutely Governed; was so zealous to have the whole Race of the *Moriscoes* extinguished, that he opposed

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fed the detaining of their Children that were under seven years of Age; affirming, that of the two, he judged it more advisable to cut the Throats of all the *Moriscoes*, Men, Women, and Children, than to have any of their Children left in *Spain*, to defile the true *Spanish* Blood, with a mixture of the Moorish. And as it must be something more than ordinary that did carry a Prelate to *Rome* that was in such high Posts and Offices in *Spain*, and who had been a Cardinal for several years, so it is more than probable, that the business that carried this Cardinal Primate to *Rome*, in the Year 1607, was to engage the Pope, after the Example of his Predecessors, to promote the Expulsion of the *Moriscoes*, since they were not to be made *Christians*. For, whereas the Pope had, on the King's Supplication to him, dispatched a particular *Breve* to every Bishop in the Kingdom of *Valencia*, to assemble, and consult together about the effectual means of Converting the *Moriscoes* to the *Christian Faith*, those *Breves* which bore Date the 11th of May, 1606. and which were arrived at *Madrid* some Months before the Cardinal Primate began his Journey to *Rome*, were not delivered to the Prelates to whom they were directed before the 15th of April, in the Year 1608. when the Cardinal Primate

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mate was returned home (as we have reason to believe) with new Orders from the Pope, to the said Prelates to Assemble together, not to consult about the most proper means of the *Moriscoes* Instruction, according to the forementioned *Breves*, but to give the King a handle for the expelling of them all. And accordingly the *Valencian* Prelates did, after a Consultation of some Months, come to the following Resolution, which was privately remitted by them to the King.

The Moriscoes of the Kingdom of Valencia are all certainly Apostates from the Christian Faith, and are withal, so Obstinate and Pertinacious in their Infidelity, that there remains no hopes of ever being able to convert them to it.

Upon this Resolution, being now come to Court, the Expulsion of the *Moriscoes* was absolutely determined, tho it was not executed till two years after, neither was its being determined known to any but the Cabinet Council, before the Vespers of its Execution, when the King had put his Affairs in such a Posture, as not to fear any Opposition that could be made to it by the Barons.

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But though this Impolitick Determination was owing chiefly to the Counsels of the Duke *de Lerma*, and his Brother, the Cardinal Primate; the thing that enclined the King (who was naturally Superstitious and Timorous) to be so tamely led to it by his Ministers, was, the loud and frequent Calls, he was told from all Parts, the Heavens gave him to it, both in Miraculous Signs and Judgments. For on this Occasion all the old Fabulous *Spanish* Prodiges were revived and brought upon the Stage, and were with all other extraordinary Appearances and Events made Calls to, and Prognostications of the Expulsion of the *Moriscoes*, and all publick Disasters and Plagues, were charged wholly to the account of its having been so long delay'd.

The Archbishop of *Valencia*, who left no Stone unturned to bring about the Expulsion, attack'd the King on this blind side in one of the Memorials he gave unto him.

It is now, saith that Archbishop, more than threescore and twelve years since I first went to study at *Salamanca*; and I do very well remember, that all the Learned and Grave Professors of that University, did at that time blame the Carelesness of our Lord the Emperor, and did all reckon, that God permitted the *Moriscoes* to remain among

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us, to punish, if not to destroy us, for our Sins; and I do farther affirm, that from that day to this, I never heard any Holy, Religious, and Prudent Person, or one that was skill'd in the Arts of Peace and War, speak of the *Moriscoes*, that were not of the same Mind concerning them: Nay, so universal is this Opinion, that upon all new Appearances of Comets in the Heavens, or in the Air, and upon the *Bell* of *Vilila* having rung it self, and upon all publick Losses and Disasters, either by Sea or Land, all the *Old Christians* do immediately cry out that *Spain* will be destroyed for suffering so many *Moriscoes* to remain in it. Thus God is pleased by the universal Voice of his People, to make his Will known to your Majesty, as he useth to do in all such Cases. The King was told likewise of prodigious Thunders and Lightnings, and of Tempests, and Earthquakes that had been in several Parts of *Spain*, and of its having been legible in all of them, that they were Judgments on *Spain* for harbouring so many Infidels: And as to the ill Success of the Invincible Armado, which was sent against *England*, in the Year 1588, the King was assured of its having been visibly a Judgment on the *Spaniards* on that very account: For God would never make use of the *Spaniards* to reduce Hereticks to the Bosom of

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the Church, so long as they suffered so many *Mahometan Apostates* to live among 'em: And the great Conjunction which was seen in the Heavens on the 24th of December, 1603. tho it was seen all *Europe* over as well as in *Spain*, was said to have appeared for no other end, but to acquaint the King with God's Intention, to make use of him to destroy the *Mahometan Sect*, with all its great Empires.

I do affirm, saith *Francisco Navarra*, in a Book dedicated to the King, that what can be gathered from the late strange Conjunction in the Heavens, is the Diminution of the *Mahometan Empire*, and the great Declination of that Sect within twenty Years, that is, before the Year 1623, or the Year 1624, at farthest, is expired, and that before the Year 1661, that whole Empire will be at an end, and before the Year 1854, or 56, the *Mahometan Sect* will be totally extinguished; neither is the beginning only, of so great a Work, reserved to your Majesty, as the Wisest, and most Valiant of Kings, and the most firm Pillar of the *Faith*, and *Christian Religion*, but the greatest part of it is to be accomplished by you, your Majesty being to conquer vast Empires, and particularly the *Holy Land*, which at this time is in the hands of the *Mahometans*.

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If the King gave as much Credit to this glorious Astrological Prediction, as he is said to have done to the blind Story of the Bell at *Vilila* (a Village in *Arragon*) having rung it self for several Days together, to ring the Knell of the *Moriscoes*, and to other prodigious Calls to expel them; we need the less wonder at his doing it. For since the securing the Peace of their own Country, during their Absence, has been always the first Care of all wise and great Conquerors, King *Philip* would have shew'd himself very defective in point of Wisdom, if intending to go and conquer those vast remote *Mahometan* Empires, and particularly the *Holy Land*, he had left as many *Mahometans* behind him in *Spain*, as there were *Moriscoes* there.

The Archbishop of *Valencia*, after having used all the Arts and Arguments that he could devise, to perswade the King to expel the *Moriscoes*, apply'd himself to the Pope, to engage him to promote it: And not being able, by reason of his great Age, to go to *Rome* in Person to solicit it, he writ to the Pope, and sent his Letter by a particular Envoy of his own, in which Letter he told the Pope as follows.

' It is now, most Holy Father, seven
' and forty Years since I, tho unworthy,
' was by the Grace of God, and the Holy
' Apo-

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' Apostolical See, promoted to the Digni-
 ' ty of a Bishop; two and forty whereof
 ' I have had the Charge of this Church:
 ' during all which time, tho I my self in
 ' Person, and by the Ministry of Learned,
 ' Religious, and Holy Men, have tried all
 ' ways possible to reduce the perfidious
 ' Hereticks, the *Moriscoes*, to the Bosom
 ' of the Holy Church; yet they have never
 ' continued any longer in the Faith, than
 ' from the Day whereon they were bap-
 ' tized, until the time they came to the
 ' Use of Reason, to which they were no
 ' sooner arrived, than through the Instru-
 ' ction of their Parents, and of the other
 ' Ministers of that base Sect, they apostat-
 ' iz'd from our Holy Religion, and with
 ' an astonishing Obstinacy embraced the
 ' *Mahometan* Sect, and 'tis now above
 ' fourscore Years since their Ancestors were
 ' baptized.

' All of 'em that are now alive have
 ' been baptized in the time of their Infan-
 ' cy. And there have been ever since that
 ' time, Parochial Churches erected in
 ' most of their Villages by your Holiness's
 ' Predecessors, which have also been plan-
 ' ted with Ministers, and Rectors, to in-
 ' struct them in the *Christian Doctrine*.
 ' Yea, and our Lords the Kings have also
 ' been extremely zealous to procure their
 ' Con-

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‘ Conversion ; and in order thereunto, an
‘ Edict of Grace was granted unto them
‘ by Pope *Clement VII.* And your Holi-
‘ ness, out of the pious Zeal God hath
‘ kindled in your Breast, did command me
‘ and the Bishops of *Tortosa, Segorve,* and
‘ *Origuella,* with several other Learned,
‘ Grave, and Religious Persons, to meet
‘ together, to consult about the most effe-
‘ ctual ways of converting them. But
‘ all this has been to no purpose, for at the
‘ same time we were beating our Brains
‘ how to instruct them in the *Faith,* they
‘ were plotting Treasons against the King
‘ and his Kingdoms, and against *Holy*
‘ *Church,* holding Correspondence with
‘ the *Turks,* and the other Enemies of our
‘ *Holy Faith,* Offering to assist them, and
‘ giving them Directions how they might
‘ conquer *Spain.*

But this old indefatigable Archbishop,
notwithstanding he was clearly of Opinion,
that there was no need at all of observing
the common Forms of Law and Justice, to
convict the *Moriscoes* of the Apostacies
and Treasons wherewith he had charged
them, both before the King and the Pope;
yet being sensible, that the Dispersion of
so many thousands of Families as would
follow upon the Expulsion, would fill the
World with Horror, unless it were fully
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satisfy'd of the *Moriscoes* Treasons; he did therefore advise the King, for his own Justification, to order a General Information. to be taken all over *Spain*, of the *Moriscoes* Apostacies and Treasons; which as it might have been done with very little Trouble; so Care was taken by the Archbishop and his Confederates, that it should have answered the End for which it was design'd; For he had the following Articles in Readiness to have exhibited against the *Moriscoes*, if such an Information had been ordered.

I. *That they did all rejoice exceedingly, when they heard of the Turks or the Moors having had any good Success against the Spaniards; and that this their Ireasonable Joy did never appear so barefac'd as in the Year 1601, when his Majesty's Fleet suffer'd so much before Algiers.*

II. *That there was nothing they commended so much as that Liberty of Conscience in all Matters of Religion, which is granted by the Turks and all Mahometans, and some Christian Princes to all their Subjects.*

III. *That whenever they thought they could do it with Safety, they did either murder the Old Christians that came among them, and especially old Christian Beggars, or did keep them in Caves, until they had an*
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Opportunity of selling them to the Barbary Moors.

IV. *That the Images of the Saints, and the Sacred Reliques, which had by the Order of their Visitors been left in their Houses, were so abhorred by them, that they were found many times in very undecent Places, with their Heads downward, and with Marks of great Contempt upon them.*

V. *When they were forced to go to Church, they did express no manner of Devotion for the Sacrament, or the Images, or the Sacred Reliques; and that a certain Morisco, who had fled to Algiers, had told the Spanish Captives, that they were much mistaken, if they believed, that the Moriscoes, when they forced them to go to Mass, did worship the White Wafer which was shew'd them by the Priest; and that instead of Worshipping, they were still making Figos at it with their Fingers, under their Cloaks.*

VI. *That when they had a mind to fright their Children, they told them, That the Christians were coming to carry them away.*

VII. *That they were all extremely solicitous to provide Morisco Nurses for all poor Morisco Orphans; and when they were grown up, to put them to Morisco Masters; and that this was not done by them out of Charity,*
but

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but purely to prevent their being made Christians.

VIII. That none were so much honoured by them, as the Moriscoes that had been whipped publickly by the Inquisition, or had wore the St. Benito: And for the Truth of this, an Appeal was made to Father Lewis Yfila, the Master of the sacred Palace at Rome; who when he was Inquisitor of Valencia, having ordered a great Number of Moriscoes to be whip'd publickly, one of their Number that had escaped the Rod, deny'd to pay the Executioner his Fee, when he demanded it of him; telling him that he had done nothing for it; and having by that means obtain'd the Honour, as he reckon'd it, of being severely whip'd, he paid the Executioner his Wages very chearfully. And that the same Master of the sacred Palace could testify, that when he was an Inquisitor in Valencia, a certain Morisco Woman was so far from being asham'd of the St. Benit, when it was put upon her, that she desired the Officer to let her have another of them, to make a Child she had at home a Coat.

IX. That when any of the Moriscoes escaped to Algiers, or to any other Ports of Barbary, they were more zealous Mahometans, and did speak of Christians, and their Religion, with more Contempt than the Moors themselves did.

X.

of the Moriscoes out of Spain. III

X. That besides Alfaques, who instructed them in the Mahometan Law, they had Alcaides among them, who punished all that transgressed it.

XI. That they reckoned no Corn grew so well as that which was sown on Sundays and Holydays.

XII. That they were such Enemies to Clocks and Bells, that they would not suffer any to be in their Houses.

XIII. That they did reckon it a great Sin in a Morisco, to accuse any of his Brethren to the Inquisition.

XIV. To excuse their not sending for a Priest to administer the Sacrament to their dying Friends, they pretended their Friends died suddenly, and before they apprehended them to be in any Danger.

XV. That all, or most of them that died by the Hand of Justice, did, when they were brought to the Place of Execution, if not before, declare that they died in the Mahometan Faith.

Lastly, That they did all send Intelligence to the Barbary Pirates.

These, and a great many more such Articles would have been exhibited against the Moriscoes, had the King ordered a General Information to have been taken concerning them, as the Archbishop ad-

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advised him to do, for the Satisfaction of the World.

But the King and his Council being sensible that the Barons, if such an Information were commanded to be taken, would conclude, that it was in order to expel the *Moriscoes*, they judged it more advisable to neglect the Censure of the World, than struggle with the Opposition they knew they should have from the Barons, if they were acquainted with that Design before it was executed.

Among these *Articles*, one may venture to affirm, That there are some that are meer malicious Inventions, having either no ground at all, or only that of common Talk; or at most, were the Facts only of some particular *Moriscoes*: But as to the two grand Articles of Treason and Apostacy, so far as I am able to judge, they were innocent of the first, as to all actual Treason; but were guilty of the last.

That the *Moriscoes* being in their Hearts *Mahometans*, might so rejoice, when they heard of the *Spaniards*, or any other Christians being worsted by the *Turks* or *Moors*, as not to be able wholly to conceal their Joy on such Occasions; and considering how cruelly they were used by the Inquisition, that they might wish Spain under the Government of any Prince,

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Christian or *Mahometan*, that would grant them Liberty of Conscience, are things so natural, that the Testimony of their Adversaries may be safely taken for their being true. But as it does by no means follow, that the *Moriscoes* were therefore actually engaged in any Treaty, either with the *Moors* or *Turks*, or *French*, or *English*, or *Dutch*; (with all which Nations they were accus'd of having been in Correspondence, so as to invite them by Promises of Assistance, to invade Spain) so I can see no Reason to believe, that they were ever any-wise concern'd in any such Treaties or Correspondencies: Of which, and of the Evidences the Court of Spain pretended to have of them as to France, King Henry the IVth of France, did in my Opinion pass a very true Judgment; who having been told by the *Spanish* Ambassador, of his being in a Correspondence with the *Moriscoes*, in order to disturb the Peace of Spain, and of some *Moriscoes* having confessed as much at their Death; he made answer, That that whole Business was an Artifice of the Court of Spain, which by the Extremity of Tortures had forced those Confessions from the Mouths of some unhappy Wretches, executed for other Crimes; or had thrust them into their forged Wills and Testaments; that when they should be found debauch-

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ing his Subjects to commit Treasons, as it was visible they were doing at that time, they might have matter to retribute with some Appearance of Truth.

But though this might be one Reason why the Council of Spain did either forge such Confessions, or procure them by Tortures, or by Promises of a Pardon to Malefactors for other Crimes; yet considering that this was done when the Duke of Lerma, the first Minister, and his Brother the Cardinal of Toledo, had set their Hearts extremely on the Expulsion of the *Moriscoes*, it is more than probable, that the accelerating and justifying of that Expulsion, was the chief Motive to that Artifice; as the *French King* called it; of forging or procuring such Testimonies.

As to the *Moriscoes* being in their Hearts all *Mahometans*, I cannot see any Reason to doubt of the Truth of that. For besides that they who were zealous against their being expelled, did not know well how to deny their being *Mahometans*, when they were charged with it by their Adversaries; the *Moriscoes*, when they saw there was no Remedy, but they must leave Spain, were for going no where else but to *Barbary*, where that Religion was profess'd. And thither they all went, who were left to their Liberty to go to what Country they pleased, that

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was subject to the *Roman Church*, and not within the *Spanish Dominions*. And as they did all profess themselves *Mahometans* so soon as ever they were among the *Moors*, so we read of few or none of them that ever fled back to *Spain*, or to any *Spanish Garrison* in *Barbary*; which they might, and would have done, or at least have attempted it, had they been *Christians*.

Now considering how long the *Moriscoes* had been Subjects to the *Spaniards* (those of *Valencia* having been conquered by them near four hundred Years, before they were expelled) and considering the Pains and Charges the *Spanish Princes* had been at to make them all *Christians*, and the Severities that had been used with them, especially after they were forced to receive *Baptism*, to oblige them to profess and embrace the *Christian Faith*; the *Moriscoes* obstinately adhering thus to the *Mahometan Sect*, is certainly a most wonderful thing. But as the strangest Events have their Causes, only they are not so easily discovered as the most common; so, with Submission to better Judgments, I take the following Particulars to have been the Causes of the unusual Obstinacy of the *Moriscoes* in the *Mahometan Sect*.

I. *The Moriscoes having from the Day they were first conquered, until the Day they were expelled*

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pelled Spain, lived in great Numbers together; not only whole Villages, but some Towns and Countries having had few Inhabitants in them, that were not of that Race. Now by living thus together, they did both very much encourage and confirm one another in their Infidelity, and were much safer in it from the Inquisition, than they would otherwise have been.

II. The 2d Cause of this strange Obstinacy, was a Consequence of the First. And that was their continuing still to speak only the Arabick Tongue; which was the Case of most of their Women, and of all their Children: And as this was a great Hindrance to their being instructed in the Christian Faith, few or none of their Curates, or of the Missionaries that were sent among them, understanding any thing of that Language, so it still preserved the Memory among them, of their being the same People with the Moors, whose Language that was, and the Book of whose Law was writ in it.

III. The 3d Cause was, their living so in the Neighbourhood of the Moors of Barbary, that few Weeks passed without their hearing something or other of them, and of their Affairs. And as the Moriscoes did all know that Spain had been once conquered by the Moors, their Ancestors, and did much value themselves upon it; so it is not unlikely that they might, after the Example of all conquered Nations, which are not become one People with their

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Conquerors, feed themselves still with Hopes derived from vain Prophecies, or idle Traditional Stories, of seeing the Moors, at one time or other Masters of Spain again.

IV. *The 4th Cause was, the proud and foolish Care the Spaniards took to distinguish themselves from the Moriscoes, by calling themselves Old Christians, and the Moriscoes, New Christians, and by excluding the Moriscoes from all Offices and Benefices, both in Church and State: By which Course, they did both exasperate the Spirits of the Moriscoes against the Christians, and their Religion, and did keep alive among them, the Memory of their being descended from the Moors, which was truly the chief Root of their Obstinacy in Mahometism.*

The last Cause was, the Spaniards Adoring of Images, for which, the Mahometans, as well as the Jews, have an invincible Aversion.

I do not, with the Barons, reckon the Cruelties which were exercised on the *Moriscoes* by the Inquisition, after they were forced to receive Baptism, among the Causes of their Infidelity. And the reason why I do not, is, because such terrible Cruelties, though they cannot convince Infidels of the Truth of Christianity, but do rather prejudice them against it; they can nevertheless oblige them so far to dissemble,

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ble, that they shall never dare to trust their Children, or their Nurſes, with the Secret of their inward Unbelief: by which means their Children will be brought up *Chriſtians*, after the ſame manner as they would have been, had none of their Anceſtors ever been of any other Religion. This Effect the great and unintermitting Severities of the Inquiſition would certainly have had on the next Generation of the *Moriſcoes*, after they began to be exerciſed, had it not been for their living together, with few or no *Old Chriſtians* among them, to obſerve what they did.

Auſtine Salucio, a wiſe, and learned *Spaniſh Dominican* Fryar, was of Opinion, that the main Body of the *Moriſcoes* were deſcended from the old Inhabitants of *Spain*, who having in the Conqueſt of that Kingdom been ſubdued by the *Moors*, did, in Proceſs of Time, loſe both their former Language, and their Religion, and were incorporated ſo with their Conquerors, as to become one and the ſame People with them; and that it muſt have been ſo, he thinks is very plain, from the *Mooriſh* Territories in *Spain* having been always very Populous, and for ſome Ages before they were recovered out of the Hands of the *Moors*, having had few or no *Chriſtians* in them, which could not otherwiſe have been; ſince

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since few, besides Soldiers, and those in no very great Numbers neither, and with very few Women, ever came from *Barbary* into *Spain*. And as to the *Goths*, who were and had been Masters of *Spain* for some Ages, when it was conquered by the *Moors*, he saith, the most of them were either killed in the Battels they had with the *Moors*, or retired into *France*, and the Northern and Mountainous Countries of *Spain*.

This ingenious Thought of *Salacio's* is much confirmed by a Letter, written in the Year 1311. to the Council of *Vien*, by *James* King of *Aragon*, wherein he affirms, that of two hundred thousand *Mahometans*, who were at that time in the Kingdom and City of *Granada*, there were not above five hundred that were descended of true *Moors*, all the rest being Descendents of *Spaniards*, who had apostatized from the *Christian Faith*, and had turned *Mahometans*. The same Fryar is of Opinion, that the main Body of the present *Spaniards* must, for the same Reasons, be the Descendents of those *Spanish Moriscoes* who remained in *Spain*, after it was recovered by the *Christians*. But to return to the Thread of the History.

The King, and the Angel of his Great Council, as the Fryars call'd the Duke of *Lerma*, on this Occasion, having fix'd the

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Month of *September*, in the Year 1609. for the Expulsion of all the *Moriscoes* of the Kingdom of *Valencia*, Orders were secretly dispatched some Months before, to the Commanders in Chief of the Men of War, and Gallies of *Spain*, *Portugal*, and *Italy*, to have their Fleets ready to sail by *August* next, with a certain Number of Land-Soldiers aboard them, which having been done under a Pretence of making some Attempt upon the Coast of *Barbary*, new Orders were dispatch'd to the Fleet of *Spain*, which were twenty in Number, and had on Board a thousand Soldiers, to sail to the Ports of *Vinares*, and *Albaques*, to the Fleet of *Naples*, which were seventeen in Number, and had on Board two thousand and seventy five Soldiers, to sail to the Port of *Denia*, the Gallies of *Sicily*, which were nine in Number, and of *Portugal*, with fourteen Men of War, which had on Board two thousand four hundred Soldiers, being ordered to sail to *Alicant*.

The Barons, who had not the least Suspicion of these Preparations, being made to transport the *Moriscoes* of the Kingdom into *Barbary*, were first alarm'd by *Don Peter de Mercia*, Governour of the Citadel of *Antwerp*, a great Soldier, being sent from Court to *Valencia*, and *Don Peter de Toledo*, Admiral of the *Spanish Fleet*, being

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ing sent at the same time to *Denia*, the first being to command the Land Forces, and the second the whole Feet, when they arrived. And though they still pretended that their Design was to make a Descent somewhere on the Coast of *Barbary*, the *Barons* did from several Circumstances gather, that that was only a Blind, and that their Business must be to transport all the *Moriscoes*: In which Suspicions they were much confirmed, by their Archbishop's laying in extraordinary Provisions of Meal, Wine and Fuel, and taking such a Number of Men and Arms into his House, as if he had expected to be besieged in it; for he, it seems, was in the Secret.

Upon this Alarm the *Barons* assembled themselves in the City of *Valencia*; which by the Constitution of the Government of that Kingdom they might do, whenever they judged there was any Occasion for it; and after having spoke their Thoughts freely, concerning the present great Preparations, they dispatched some Deputies to the Marquis of *Carazena*, their Viceroy; desiring to know of him, what was the meaning of them.

The Viceroy, though he was much troubled at the *Military Arm's* being assembled, for so such Assemblies of the *Barons* are called, received their Deputies with great Civility;

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vility ; desiring them to assure the *Barons* from him, that whatever his Majesty's Design was by the present Preparations, it was to promote the Honour and Interest of the Kingdom of *Valencia* ; and that they could have no Reason to be jealous of the Court's having any ill Design upon their Liberties or Privileges, at a time, when the Duke of *Lerma*, who was their Countreyman, and had a great Estate among them, was the first Minister.

But the *Barons* not doubting, after they had received this Answer from the *Viceroy*, That the Expulsion of the *Moriscoes* was the thing that was designed ; and not being so certain, that a first Minister will be faithful to the true Interest of his Country, as they were, that nothing could be more prejudicial to *Valencia* than that Expulsion ; it was proposed, that they should immediately dispatch Deputies to Court, in their Names to remonstrate against it, as the worst thing that could be done to them, and the whole Kingdom. This Proposition was agreed to by the whole Body, the Count of *Tindil* and his Brother only excepted : Who tho they pretended to condemn the Expulsion of the *Moriscoes* as much as any of the rest, did oppose the sending of Deputies to Court, which, they said, would be taken ill by the King, and could signify nothing ; it not being

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ing a thing to be imagined, that the King, after he had been at such vast Expences, should by any Remonstrances that could be made to him, be diverted from executing whatever he design'd thereby. This Opposition was taken most heinously by all the rest of the *Barons*, who told that Count and his Brother, That because they would suffer little, as to their own private Estates, by that Expulsion, having few or no *Morisco* Vassals, they were not concerned for what the Publick would suffer thereby. But the Constitution of the *Military Arm* being such, that nothing can be done in it without the unanimous Vote of all its Members, the *Barons* adjourned till next Morning, without doing any thing.

The *Viceroy* having been inform'd of the great Heat the *Barons* had been in, ordered the Chief Judge of the *Chancery* to be present at their Meeting next Morning, to try to allay their Heat, and, if it were possible, to divert them from sending any Deputies to Court. But the *Barons*, when they were assembled, notwithstanding all that Judge could say to them, did declare, That they would not be hindred either by Artifice, or unreasonable Opposition, from discharging their Duty to their Country and Posterity.

But

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But as they were about to have named their Deputies, the Lord Chief Justice in Criminal Matters came among them, and commanded them upon their Allegiance, to *adjourn, and repair before Night to their respective Houses.*

But if the *Barons* were angry before, this unexpected Adjournment made them much more so. And therefore when they met again next Morning, they all drew their Swords as soon as they entred the Senate House, declaring, *They would not sheath them again before they had finished the Business they had met about.*

The Lord Chief Justice, who had been sent to them again by the *Viceroy*, as he was exhorting the *Barons* with great Vehemence to put up their Swords, and to behave themselves as became good Subjects, fell down dead in the Place where he stood, and never spoke a Word more.

Had such a sad Accident as this happened at this time, to any of the *Barons*, as they were speaking against the *Expulsion*, it would have rung louder, as a Judgment, thorough all *Spain*, than the Bell of *Vilila* had rung on the same side.

The Report at first was, *That my Lord Chief Justice was killed by the Barons in the Senate House.* But his Relations and others were quickly satisfy'd that it was not so,
and

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and that he died of pure Passion, thorough a too violent Agitation of his Spirits.

But tho the Barons were diverted for some Hours by this surprizing Accident, from naming their Deputies, they both named them before they rose, and drew up their Instructions; the Substance whereof was,

That they were, in their Names, to assure the King, and the Duke of Lerma, that Valencia would be absolutely ruined, if the Moriscoes, by whom all its Work was done, should be turn'd out of it.

The Persons named for Deputies, were Don Philip Buyl Baron of Munizes, and Don John Bellterra, who having posted to Madrid, and obtained an Audience of the King, delivered the Letters they had from the Barons to his Majesty, having delivered that they had from them to the Duke of Lerma before.

The King after he had heard all that the Deputies had to offer against the Expulsion, told them, *They came too late, the Ban for expelling the Moriscoes of Valencia having been published in that Kingdom before that time, as it was the Day before.* The King told them farther, *That he had sent a Letter to the Barons,*

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rons, which he was sure would satisfy them of the Necessity there was of doing it : Which Letter was as follows :

Honourable and Beloved,

YOU cannot but be sensible of the great Endeavours that have been used, thorow a long Series of Years, to convert the New Christians of this Kingdom, and of an Edict of Grace having been granted to them, and of all the other Means which have been made Use of, to have instructed them in our Holy Faith; as also of the ill Success of all those Endeavours, not so much as one of them, as is believed, having been converted thereby: On the contrary, their Obstinacy has gone on encreasing daily, with an Inclination to plot the Disturbance of the Peace of these our Kingdoms.

Now the Danger and irreparable Damage which may attend our suffering these People to remain any longer among us, having been laid before me some Years ago, by several Learned and Holy Men, who exhorted me to a speedy Remedy, which they told me I was bound in Conscience to make Use of; assuring me further, that I might, without any Scruple of Conscience, punish them all with Death, and the Loss of their Estates, for the Crimes whereof they were guilty; all of them being guilty of Heresy and Apostacy, and of Treason against God and their King. Although we
might

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might have proceeded against them with the Rigor which their Crimes do deserve, yet we continuing desirous, if it had been possible, to have reduced them by mild and gentle Methods, did, as you know very well, order a Junta to be held at Valencia, to consult together, to see whether any new ways might be found out to convert them; that so we might not be obliged to banish them out of Spain. But while we were thus labouring their Conversion, we received Advice by several ways, of their having sent Deputies to Constantinople and Morocco, to invite the Turk and Muley Silem to come to their Assistance, with an Assurance of fifty thousand Men being ready to join them when they landed in Spain, who were all as true Mahometans as any in Barbary, and would all sacrifice their Lives and Estates in their Service. And to encourage them to enterprize it, they told them, it would be an easy Conquest, Spain having but few Men in it that were fit to bear Arms, and yet fewer that knew any thing of Martial Discipline. They have been guilty also of holding a Correspondence with Heretical and other Princes, who are Enemies to the Greatness of our Monarchy, having offered to assist both the one and the other with their Forces.

Farthermore, we are certainly informed of the Turks having concluded a Peace with the Persian, and with some of his Rebellious Subjects,

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jects, that so he may be at liberty to send his Fleet into our Seas, and that Muley Silem also has quieted his Kingdom, and is treating with the Northern Hereticks about Ships to transport an Army of Moors into Spain; which those Hereticks have promised to supply him with: And in how great danger Spain would be, if it should be invaded by these and some other Enemies, I leave to you to judge.

Now considering all that has been said, and being desirous to comply with the Obligations we are under, to procure the Conservation and Security of our Kingdoms, and of this in particular, and of all our good and faithful Subjects therein, who are, of all our other Subjects, in the greatest danger; and that the Heresy and Apostacy wherewith our Lord is so much offended, may be extirpated (after having recommended this Affair, and caused it to be recommended to God; trusting in his Divine Favour, in a Work wherein his Glory is so deeply concern'd) We have resolved to banish all the Moriscoes out of this our Kingdom, and that of Castile, in such a manner as you will be advertized of: With which, as good and faithful Subjects, I have ordered you to be acquainted, on purpose to make you sensible, that it is the Desire to secure your Persons and Affairs, and to prevent the Dangers which do threaten you and them, and the great Love I have for you, that moved me to take this Resolution; the Execution
whereof

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whereof cannot be delay'd any longer, without running the hazard of seeing Spain speedily invaded by so many Enemies, and particularly the forementioned Infidels.

We do therefore earnestly charge you, to whose Security and Repose the effectual and speedy Execution of this our Purpose will redound so much, to be assistant to it, as you shall be directed by the Marquiss de Carazena, our Lieutenant and Captain General of this Kingdom. And this I expect from the Zeal you have for God's Service and mine, and your own Preservation: and herein you will comply with the Obligations of faithful and good Christians and Subjects, and will perform the most acceptable Service you can do us.

As to every thing relating to the Execution of this our Purpose, we do remit you to our Viceroy, who shall in my Name direct you, and whose Directions you shall execute.

From St. Lawrence, the 11th of September, 1609.

This Letter was on the 22d of the same Month delivered by the Viceroy to the Barons, who having the same Thoughts of the Treasons mentioned in it, as they had

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some Years before, when they called them *Speculations* and *Chimeras*, were not at all satisfy'd with it, though the great Fleet and Army that were at that time in their Ports, oblig'd them to submit to what it ordered.

And on the same Day the *Ban* for expelling all the *Moriscoes* of the Kingdom was published by Sound of Trumpet in all the publick Places of the City of *Valencia*, and in a short time after in all the Cities and Towns of that Kingdom.

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The BAN of Expulsion.

The King, and in His Majesty's Name,

Don Lewis Carvillo de Toledo, Marquess of *Carazena*, Lord of the Towns of *Pinto*, and *Tues*, Commendador of *Chicklena* and *Montizon*, Viceroy, Lieutenant, and Captain General of the City and Kingdom of *Valencia*, for our Lord the King.

To all the Grandees, Prelates, Titulars, Barons, Knights, Justices, and Jurors of the Cities, Towns, and Villages, and to the General Bayliffs and Governors, and to all other his Majesty's Officers; and to all Citizens, Peasants, and all other Persons whatsoever:

His Majesty in his Royal Letter, bearing Date the 4th of *August*, in this present Year, and signed with his own Royal Hand, and counter-signed by *Andrew de Prada*, his Secretary of State, wrote to me as followeth:

To the Marquess de Carazena, our Cousin and Lieutenant, and Capt. General of our Kingdom of *Valencia*,

K NOW Ye, &c.

I do not here insert the King's Letter to the Viceroy, because it is, *mutatis mutandis*,

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Word for Word the same with that to the Barons, which I have set down at length, Page 42.

Now that this His Majesty's Command may be executed, and have its due Effect, We have commanded the following Ban to be published.

- I. **T**HAT all the *Moriscoes* of this Kingdom, Men, Women, and Children shall within three Days after the Publication of this *Ban* in the Place where they live, and have their Habitation, depart and go towards the Place appointed by the Commissaries (whom they are to follow, and obey) for their Embarcation ; taking with them so much of their moveable Goods as they are able to carry, there to embarque on the Gallies and Ships which are ready to carry them to *Barbary* ; where they shall be landed without any Molestation, either in Word or Deed, to their Persons, or to the Goods they carry with them : and tho whatever is necessary to their Subsistence shall be provided for them aboard the Ships, they may nevertheless lay in what Provision they please for themselves : With which *Ban*,
who.

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whosoever shall not comply, but shall violate it in any Particular, shall be punished with Death.

II. If any of the said *Moriscoes* shall, after the Publication of this *Ban*, absent themselves from the Places where they lived, they shall be apprehended by any Person that shall meet with them, and such Persons are hereby immediately Indemnify'd for the same, and in case any of the said *Moriscoes* do offer to defend themselves against being carry'd before the next Justice, it shall be lawful to kill them.

III. If any of the said *Moriscoes* shall hide or bury any of the Goods they cannot carry with them, or shall set Fire to their Houses, Corn, Orchards, or Trees, they shall be put to Death by the People of that Place where it is done, whom we do command to be the Executioners of it: His Majesty having been graciously pleased to grant all their Goods, Moveables, and Immoveables, besides those they can carry themselves, to the Lords to whom they were Vassals.

IV. No *Moriscoe* shall, under pain of Death, remove from the place where he was at the Publication of this *Ban*, but they shall all remain where they

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were at that time, until the Commis-
saries, who are to conduct them to
the Sea-side, do come to them.

V. For the Preservation of the Houses,
Ingenio's of Sugar, Granaries of Rice,
and Aqueducts, &c. and for the In-
struction of the new Inhabitants that
are to come, in all those Works; his
Majesty, at our request, has been plea-
sed to grant, that in every Town where
there are an hundred *Morisco* Families,
six may remain, with their Wives and
Children, provided their Children are
not, nor have ever been married, but
are under the Tutorage of their Pa-
rents, and in their Proportion more,
or fewer, according to the Number of
Families in Places. Only that Num-
ber must never be exceeded. The
Nomination of all the Families that
are to remain shall be left to the Lords
of the Places, who must send an Ac-
count to us, of the Persons named by
them. And as to the *Moriscoes* that
are to remain in Places belonging to
the King, and to us, Care will be ta-
ken to prefer the most Ancient, and
Husbandmen, and such as are suppo-
sed to be the truest *Christians*, or, that
seem best disposed to be reduced to
our Holy Faith.

VI.

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- VI.** No *Old Christian*, nor Soldier, Native, or Foreigner, shall dare to treat any of the *Moriscoes* ill, either by Word or Deed, or to meddle with the Persons, Wives, or Goods of the said *Moriscoes*.
- VII.** None shall presume to hide, or conceal any of the *Moriscoes* in their Houses, nor shall be any ways assistant to their being concealed, or to their absenting of themselves, upon pain of being condemned to the Gallies for six Years, without Remission, and of other Punishments, at his Majesty's Pleasure.
- VIII.** That the *Moriscoes* may be satisfy'd that his Majesty intends only to banish them out of *Spain*, and land them without any Vexation on the Coast of *Barbary*, we do permit ten of the *Moriscoes* that shall embarque at the first Voyage, to return, to inform those that are behind how they were used. The same shall be observ'd in every Embarcation by the Captain General of the Gallies, who shall not suffer any Soldier or Mariner to abuse the *Moriscoes*, either by Word or Deed.
- IX.** Their Children, Male and Female, that are under four Years old, whose Parents, or if they are Orphans, whose

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Guardians are willing they should stay behind, shall not be expelled.

X. The Boys and Girls that are not above six Years old, one of whose Parents is an *Old Christian*, may stay, and their Mother with them, tho she be a *Morisco*: But if the Father be a *Morisco*, and the Mother an *Old Christian*, the Father shall be banished, and the Children that are under six Years old shall remain with their Mother.

XI. They also may stay, who have lived among *Old Christians* for a considerable time, and have not in the two Years last past been at any of the Meetings of the *Moriscoes*.

XII. They also may stay, who have with the leave of their Prelate, received the most Holy Sacrament, and can shew a Certificate from their Parish-Priest of their having done it.

XIII. His Majesty is graciously pleased to grant Leave to the said *Moriscoes*, to go into any Kingdom out of the *Spanish* Dominions, provided they depart from their Habitations within the time prefix'd.

This is his Majesty's Royal and fix'd Will; and that the Penalties of this Ban be executed, and that they shall be executed

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ted without Remission; and to the intent it may come to the Knowledge of all, that it be published in the customary Form.

Dated at the Palace
of Valencia, on the
22d of September,
1609.

By his Excellency's
Command,

Manuel de Espinosa.

The *Viceroy*, who of himself was no Friend to the Expulsion, no more than the other *Barons*, knowing how highly the Nobles and Gentry would be displeased with the Publication of this *Ban*, and that it would make all the *Moriscoes* desperate, did at the same time with the *Ban*, publish the following *Orders*, for the Security of the Peace of the Kingdom.

From the Gate of the Palace to that of the Jews, the Walls shall be guarded by the Regiment of the Governour Don James Ferrer, whose Guard-house shall be the Cloyster of the Dominicans.

From the Gate of the Jews to that of Racafa, they shall be guarded by the Regiment of Don John de Castelni, whose Guard-house shall be in the Hospital.

From

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From the Gate of Racafa to that of the Innocents, they shall be guarded by the Regiment of Don Francis Juan, whose Guard-house shall be the Port-house of St. Vincent.

From the Gate of the Innocents to that of the Tintes, they shall be guarded by the Regiment of the Conde de Casteller, whose Guard-house shall be the Portall.

From the Gate de Tintes to that of Serranes, they shall be guarded by the Regiment of the Conde de Alagues, whose Guard-house shall be the New Gate.

From the Gate of Serrenes to the Palace, they shall be guarded by the Regiment of the Conde Bennel, whose Guard-house shall be the Gate de Serrenes.

The Company of Hundred shall repair to the Close of the See Church and the Town-house.

The Company de la Seca shall repair to the Market Place.

The Familiars of the Holy Office shall repair to the Close of St. Lawrence, and the House of the Inquisition.

The Gentlemen and Exempts shall repair to the Palace.

Five Companies shall be on the Guard every Night, one at the Gate of the Palace, which shall send Sentinels to the Magazine of Arms; another within the Palace; another
at

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at the Gate de Serres, which shall send Sentinels to the Magazine of Powder; and another at the Gate de Quarto, and another at St. Vincent.

The Soldiers, when they are upon the Guard, shall not leave their Posts for one Minute; and to prevent Disorders, they shall not be permitted to carry their Arms thorough the Streets when they go home to their Houses.

The Gates of the City shall be shut at their usual Hour, and the four chief Gates after they are once shut, shall not be opened without our Order, either by word of Mouth, or Writing, and sent by the Sergeant, Major, or Adjutant.

None, upon Pain of Death, shall presume to make any Alarm. And if any do presume to do it, the Captains and other Officers shall assist to apprehend them.

The Main Guard shall not beat an Alarm until they have our particular Order to do it; and if there should be any such Occasion, notice shall be sent to me of it, that I may judge whether it ought to be done, or not. For as this City can be in no great Danger but from a great Body of Men, so such a Body cannot approach near to it, without our having notice of them before.

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The Villages that are about the City must keep strong Guards; and in case of any Rumor of an Army, they shall come and tell me of it, and that without saying any thing of it in the City, or to those that are upon the Guard.

In case there should be occasion for a general Alarm, it shall be given by striking the great Bell in the See Church with an Hammer, and upon that Signal's being given, Candles shall be lighted in all the Houses, and be set in the Windows, and the Men shall all repair to their Colours, and the Women and Children shall all keep within Doors.

And whereas the Suburbs, and the Fifteen Convents of Fryars and Nuns that are in them are the most exposed to Danger, we do order the five Troops, which are the Guard of the Coast of this Kingdom, to be quartered there, with their other Guards; a whole Troop of which Body shall patrol every Night, the Command whereof I do commit to my Brother Don Pacheco y Cavillo, the Marquis de Framista my Son-in-law, being appointed by me to be about my Person, to be employed by me as there shall be Occasion.

*The Marquess of
Carazena.*

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The Archbishop who had been so great an Instrument in the promoting this Expulsion, to testify his Joy and Thanks for it, and to inflame the Old Christians against the *Moriscoes*, did on the same Day that the Ban was published, publish the following Orders to be observed by his Clergy.

We Don John de Ribera, by the Grace of God, and the Holy and Apostolical See, Patriarch of Antioch, and Archbishop of Valencia, of his Majesty's Council, &c.

To the Venerable Rectors and Clerks, and to the Reverend Fathers the Superiors of the Religious of this our Archbishoprick.

IT being manifest, that his Majesty was moved to the Resolution he has taken of banishing all the *Moriscoes* out of this Kingdom, by his holy Zeal for the Service of God, and the Exaltation of his Holy Catholick Faith, and for the Preservation of his Kingdoms, and of all his faithful Subjects in Peace and Tranquillity, we do trust in God, that his Majesty's Commands in this Affair will meet with a ready Obedience, so as to compass the Ends at which it aims. And whereas this is a Matter of the highest Moment,
both

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both as to the Service of God, and the general Profit of these Kingdoms; it is just and necessary that we should all have Recourse to God, beseeching him so to direct this Affair, that his own Glory and Honour may be thereby exalted, and his Majesty's Life and Health may be prosperous, and this his Royal and Holy Action may compass its Ends, and Heresy and Blasphemy may be confounded: I have therefore judged it to be convenient, to command all the Rectors and Clerks, and to desire and charge all the Superiors of the Religions to have the most Holy Sacrament uncovered in their Churches and Monasteries, on the Days hereafter appointed, and in all their Sacrifices and Prayers, publick and private, to recommend to God the effectual and speedy Execution of this his Majesty's Command.

On Sunday the 27th of September, at the Cathedral-Church, and at the Convent of the Dominicans.

On Monday the 28th.

On Tuesday the 29th, at St. Andrews, and St. Austins.

On Wednesday the 3d, at St. John's Hospital, and the Church of the Carmelites; and so on till the 21st of October the Sacrament was uncovered every Day in two Churches in that City.

But

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But besides this *Mandate*, there was another directed by him to all the *Rectors*, *Vicars*, &c. within his Archbishoprick, which was as followeth.

Reverend Father,

THIS will give you to understand, that his Majesty has taken a Resolution to expel all the *Moriscoes* out of this Kingdom; whereby the great and many bold Blasphemies against God and his Religion, of which you that live among the *Moriscoes* cannot but be sensible, and for which great Plagues from Heaven, if not the general Ruin and Destruction of this Kingdom, might justly have been feared, will cease.

His Majesty being enlightned by the Holy Ghost, and in the first Place, having God's Service in his Eye; and in the second Place, the Benefit of this Kingdom, and the Security of its Inhabitants; notwithstanding he might justly have inflicted on them the Punishments, which the Ecclesiastical and Civil Laws do appoint for *Hereticks*, *Apostates*, and *Traytors*, has nevertheless out of his customary Clemency and Benignity, only banished those that troubled us; which was according to St. Paul's Desire.

This

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‘ This I was willing you should know
‘ from me, that you and all the other
‘ Priests belonging to your Church, might
‘ return particular Thanks to God for the
‘ singular Mercy of his having given us so
‘ religious and zealous a King, and beseech
‘ him, both in your publick and private
‘ Prayers, to preserve his Majesty, and
‘ prosper him with good Success for the
‘ Service of *Christianity*. This Charge shall
‘ be given by you to all the Priests and
‘ People in your Parishes, that they may
‘ supplicate his Divine Majesty to direct the
‘ speedy and effectual Execution of this Af-
‘ fair, wherein the Glory of his Holy Name,
‘ and the Spiritual and Temporal Benefit of
‘ this Kingdom is so much concerned. You
‘ shall likewise with all possible Care and
‘ Diligence assist all the Officers that are or
‘ shall be employ’d by his Majesty in this
‘ Business, in all things relating thereunto;
‘ being always ready to comply with what-
‘ soever they shall ordain; so it be not con-
‘ trary to your Profession, and you shall let
‘ them know that I have ordered you so to
‘ do; And if you should want my Ad-
‘ vice on any Occasion, you may, and
‘ I hope you will, write freely to me
‘ for it.

And

of the Moriscoes out of Spain. 145

‘ And whereas our Lord the King has
‘ out of his great Piety, and for the greater
‘ Security of his Royal Conscience, Order-
‘ ed all the Boys and Girls that are under
‘ four Years old, if they, and their Parents,
‘ (or if they are Orphans, their Guardians)
‘ do consent to it, not to be expelled, as
‘ also, all the Boys and Girls, who are un-
‘ der six Years old, one of whose Parents
‘ is an *Old Christian* (their Mother, tho she
‘ be a *Morisco*, being to remain with them,
‘ but in case the Father be a *Morisco*, and
‘ the Mother an *Old Christian*, the Father
‘ being to be expelled, and the Children
‘ that are under six Years old, being to re-
‘ main behind with their Mother) as also
‘ that none of those shall be expelled, who
‘ have lived for a considerable time, that is,
‘ for two Years, among *Christians*, without
‘ having ever been at any of the Meetings
‘ of the *Moriscoes*, nor any of those who
‘ have with the Licence of their Prelates,
‘ received the most Holy Sacrament, ha-
‘ ving a Certificate thereof from the Rector
‘ of their Parish. All these Particulars
‘ you shall take great Care to see executed
‘ in your Parish ; and if there shall be Oc-
‘ casion, you shall let the King’s Officers
‘ know, that I have commanded you to as-
‘ sist them in these his Majesty’s Royal
‘ Commands ; neither need you fear, that
‘ they

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' they will have no regard to you, seeing
 ' the most Illustrious, and Excellent, the
 ' Marquess of Carazena, his Majesty's Vice-
 ' roy, has order'd them to be advised by
 ' you. I do farther charge you to use all
 ' Pity and Charity with the Children that
 ' shall remain, in Obedience to what our
 ' Lord has taught us, saying, *Suffer little*
 ' *Children to come unto me, for of such is the*
 ' *Kingdom of Heaven.* As to those, both
 ' you and I are under great Obligations;
 ' being bound to do more for our Sheep,
 ' and Parishioners, than for others. In all
 ' this I do hope you will discharge the Mi-
 ' nistry that is committed to you, and will
 ' so demean your selves therein, *that others*
 ' *seeing your good Works, may be edify'd there-*
 ' *by,* and that I may have Cause to thank
 ' you, both by Word and Deed, for your
 ' Care and Vigilance therein, of which you
 ' are to send me a particular Account, as
 ' also, of the Number of the Boys and Girls
 ' that are to remain in your Parishes, and
 ' of their Accommodations,

Given at our Archiepif-
copal Palace, the 22d
of Septem. 1609.

The Patriarch,
 Archbishop of
Valencia.

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The Archbishop not being satisfy'd with those Testimonies of his Joy on this Occasion, did preach himself in the *Cathedral-Church* the *Sunday* after the *Ban* was published; which was the Day whereon he had ordered the *Sacrament* to be uncover'd in it; his Text was those Words of *St. Paul*, in the 5th *Chapter* of his *Epistle* to the *Ephesians*; *I wish they were cut off that trouble you.* This Sermon being little else than an Encomium and Justification of the Expulsion, I judg'd it would not be improper to present the Reader with it, as an Appendix to this History.

As to the Children of the *Moriscoes*, of whom the Archbishop speaks here with great Tenderness, he was of several Minds about them. At first, when he began to solicit the King to expel the *Moriscoes*, he advis'd him to detain all their Children that were under ten Years old, and to sell them for Slaves in *Spain*, where they would be educated in the *Christian Faith*. But after, having considered better on that Affair, and recommended it to God with more Fervour; he begg'd the King's Pardon for having given him that Advice, and desired that all the *Morisco* Children that were above five Years old might be expelled, because it was known by Experience to be a very difficult Matter to convert one to *Christianity*,

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nity, that was bred till he was of that Age in the *Mahometan Sect*. But being afterwards further enlightned, he advised the King to expel all the Children with their Parents, giving the three following Reasons for this his last Advice.

1. *Because it would be impossible to find Nurses for all the Morisco Children that were under that Age, there being at that time in the Kingdom of Valencia above six and fifty thousand Morisco Children that were under five Years old: And in all Spain there were above forty thousand Morisco Children born every Year.*

2. *Since great Numbers of Moriscoes, Men and Women, were, for the sake of some Works and Manufactures, to remain still in Spain, there would be no Possibility of preventing the Morisco Children being corrupted and made Mahometans by them.*

Lastly, Because the Moriscoes were a People that were so extraordinary fond of their Children, and averse to their being bred Christians, that they would certainly rebel, if the Spaniards did offer to take their Children from them by Force.

To these Three the Archbishop might, I suppose, have added a 4th Reason; which was, the Cardinal of Toledo's, who was the great

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great Wheel of the Expulsion, being against any of the *Morisco* Children being left in *Spain*, to corrupt the *Spanish* Blood with the *Moorish*. So, that any *Morisco*, old or young, was excepted, was owing to the *Viceroy's* Interest in the Duke of *Lerma*, which tho it was not strong enough to divert the Expulsion, was able to procure all the Limitations that are in it.

After the *Moriscoes* were a little recovered from the great Consternation the Publication of the *Ban of Expulsion* had thrown them into, some of the chief Men among them met privately together at *Valencia*, to consult whether it was possible to divert this terrible Storm that was come upon them so unexpectedly. For the *Moriscoes* had for two Years before, (that is, from the time the Expulsion was determined at Court) been much less troubled about Religion than they had ever been before, since they were baptized: Their Adversaries having, during that time, winked at them on purpose to have clearer Discoveries from them of their being *Mahometans*; by which means few or none of them were capable of any Benefit by that Exception in the *Ban*, of all those who had within two Years received the Sacrament, with a License from their Prelates.

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It was agreed at this Meeting, that they should make an Address to the *Viceroy*; wherein, after having given him all possible Assurances of their Loyalty, and of their having never been in any manner of Correspondence with the *Moors*, or with any other of the King's Enemies, they should offer a great Sum of Money to the King, and if his Majesty would be pleased to revoke the late *Ban*, undertake to maintain a considerable Number of Gallies continually, and to build and maintain several Forts upon the Coasts, to defend it against the Insults of the *Barbary Moors*, and of all the other Enemies of *Spain*; and that they would further redeem all the *Spanish* Captives that were at that time Slaves in *Barbary*; and would for ever redeem all that should be taken by the *Moors* off the Land of *Valencia*: This Address was presented to the *Viceroy* by eight of the most ancient and venerable Men of that Assembly. His Answer to it was, *That it was to no purpose for them to think of any thing, but of yielding a ready Obedience to the Ban, which the King was immovably determined to have executed.*

When the Deputies returned to their Body with this melancholy Answer to their Address, a general Rising of the *Moriscoes* all over the Kingdom was proposed by some hot Spirits among them, as the only Remedy

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medy they had left; but that Motion, considering the Posture and Government they were in at that time, being rejected as Madness, they could think of no better way to oblige the *Spaniards* to suffer them all to stay, than by perswading the *Morisco* Families, which were allowed by the *Ban* to remain in *Spain*, not to accept of that *Grace*, if their Brethren were expelled, and so to leave the *Spaniards* to their Choice, to keep them all, or to have none of them.

This Expedient having in a very short time been whispered into the Ears of all the *Moriscoes*, did work one of the suddenest and greatest Changes in them that was perhaps ever heard of. The *Moriscoes*, who the Minute before had been on their Knees to their Lords to beg, That they and their Families might be named by them to stay, not being to be perswaded to stay, by all that their Lords could say or do to them; all of them to a Man, declaring resolutely, That they would run the same Fortune with their Brethren, let that be what it would; and would stay if they stay'd, and go with them if they went.

This sudden Resolution of the *Moriscoes* made the Barons much more discontented than they were before; nothing having sweetned the *Ban* so much to them, as the

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Exception that had been procured by the Viceroy of six Morisco Families out of every Hundred; which was totally defeated by this. For though it had been so ordered, that the Corn-Harvest was in before the Ban was published, the Vintage was hardly begun; and for the Sugars, and several other Manufactures, they were quite at an end, if none of the *Moriscoes* could be persuaded to stay so long as to instruct the old Christians in them, who at present were utter Strangers to them all.

And whereas the Duke of *Gandia* had a great Estate in such Manufactures, he did offer every sixth *Morisco* Family of a hundred within his Lands, what they would ask, so they would but stay with him. The *Moriscoes* told him, That though they were very unwilling to stay behind their Brethren, yet if he would procure them Liberty of Conscience, so many Families as the Ban allowed would remain in his Service; but that otherwise he would not be able to prevail with one single *Morisco* to stay.

The Duke, though he had little reason to hope that the King would gratify him in this, did petition the Viceroy for such a Liberty, only for two or three Years, until some old Christians were taught by the *Moriscoes* how to work those Manufactures. The Viceroy's Answer to this Petition was,
That

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That such a Liberty would not be granted for one Day, upon any Consideration whatsoever; for which Answer the Viceroy was afterwards thanked by the King.

The Moriscoes were not less obstinate as to their Children, when spoke to by their Parish Priests, to leave them in Spain. For when their Parish Priests went to perswade them to it, by telling them how incommodious and dangerous a thing it was, to carry so many thousands of Children aboard the Gallies, that would be crowded and pester'd by other Passengers, and whose Nurses having never been at Sea before, would be so sick, that they would not be able to look after them: The Moriscoes Answer to them was, that tho they believ'd all this, and a great deal more than they told them, of the Danger and Incommodity of carrying so many young Children aboard the Gallies that would be so pester'd; they were resolv'd their Children should go where they went, and that they had much rather see them die aboard the Gallies, or any where else, than leave them in the hands of a People that had been so merciless to their Parents.

On St Francis's Day a thing hapned, if it was not design'd, that had like to have eased the Spaniards of the Charge and Trouble of Transporting the Moriscoes, who,

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who, had it not been for the Viceroy's prudent Conduct, might have had all their Throats cut, upon a false Alarm that was given all over the Kingdom.

While the Viceroy was at St. Francis's Church at Maf, a Man on Horseback, contrary to the Vice-roy's express Order, came galloping with a naked Sword in his Hand through the Streets of the City, crying all the way, *The Moriscoes, the Moriscoes, the Moriscoes*, as if they had been entering the Gates; and after having thus alarm'd the whole City, he came to the Church of St. Francis, and having alighted there, and gone in, he cry'd aloud to the Vice-roy, *there is a vast Army of Moriscoes, and all well arm'd, within sight of Sijos de Trigo, a Town within a League of Valencia, and they cut the Throats of all the Old Christians, Men, Women, and Children, that they meet with.* This Man had not made an end of his bloody Story, when an Express came to the Vice-roy, with a Letter from the Alcaide of Buriafer, a Village belonging to the Archbishop, in the Neighbourhood of Sijos de Trigo, which confirm'd all that the other had said, of the Numbers, Nearness, and Cruelties of the *Moriscoes Army*. The

of the Moriscoes out of Spain. 155

The Viceroy, who did not believe a Syllable of this Tragical Story, tho' confirmed by a Letter from the Archbishop *Alcaide's* own Hand, and knowing, that if he should seem to give so much Credit to it as to go out of the Quire, the whole City would be put thereby in a greater Consternation, if it were possible, than they were in already; he continued in his Seat, and sent out his Brother, and some others that attended him, to assure the People that there could be no such thing, and that it was nothing but a false Alarm. The Gentlemen that were sent out by the Viceroy, after having endeavour'd in vain to satisfy the People, who were every where crowding into Churches and Convents to save themselves, ordered a Troop of Horse to go upon the gallop, where this great and bloody Army was reported to have been seen, who being come to the Place, met with the same Alarm there, but could see nothing like an Army, nor meet with any Body that could tell them any thing more of it, than that they had been alarm'd in the same manner as the City, and as the whole Kingdom had been at the same time, as was known afterwards.

We are not told of this false Alarm's having had any Tragical Effects, only it is said, that after the Publication of the
Ban,

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Ban, the Roads, and Fields were every where strowed with the dead Bodies of the *Moriscoes*, some of them having been killed upon former Grudges, and some by the Soldiers, who had been employ'd by devout Ladies to help them to some of the *Morisco* Children, but most of them by the *Banditti*, who were at that time very numerous in *Valencia*.

The Commissaries that were to conduct the *Moriscoes* to the Sea-ports, where the Ships and Gallies lay ready to receive them, having been named by the Viceroy, they repaired to their several Charges; and the *Moriscoes* of *Gandia*, and of the Sea-coast having been order'd to embarque first, six thousand of them were put on Board the Gallies of *Naples*, and fourteen thousand aboard the Men of War and Gallies that were at *Alicant*, and eight thousand aboard the Ships and Gallies at *Vineros*.

The Fleet whereon the *Moriscoes* were embarqued, having joined at Sea, had a very quick Passage to *Oran*, a Garrison belonging to the *Spaniards* in *Barbary*, where being all put ashore, Deputies were sent to the Viceroy of *Tremexen*, to desire him to receive them into his Country, as a People who had been turned out of *Spain* for being of the *Mahometan* Religion. The Viceroy having received their
Depu-

of the Moriscoes out of Spain. 157

Deputies with great Kindness, did immediately dispatch *Cid Almanzor* to them with 500 Ginets, and 1000 Camels, to carry their Women and Children, and their Goods, if they had any: Which Order was executed by *Almanzor* with great Care and Tenderness. For he did not suffer any of his Men, or any of the Country People to offer them the least affront, or to do them any injury in their Journey. When they were arrived at *Tremezen*, they were kindly entertained, and allowed all the Liberties and Privileges that are enjoyed by the Natives, and which are still enjoyed by their Posterity, who are since become very numerous in those Parts. So that of all the *Moriscoes* that were expelled *Spain* at this time, these of the first Embarcation fared the best in *Barbary*: Of which kind Usage, and of their having been civilly treated aboard the Ships and Gallies, an Account, according to the King's Order, was carried back to *Spain* by ten *Moriscoes* that were of that Embarcation.

The King being informed that his Fleet at two Voyages more, which were as many as it would be able to make that Year, could not transport one half of the *Moriscoes* of the Kingdom of *Valencia*, ordered all the Merchants Ships that were at *Lisbon*, *Cales*, *Barcelona*, &c. to sail to the
Ports

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Ports of that Kingdom; great Numbers of Ships came also from *Genova*, *Majorca*, and the other Islands, and were hired by the *Moriscoes*, who did not care to venture themselves on the King's Ships; by which means all the *Moriscoes* of *Valencia* that were not in Arms, were landed in *Barbary* before the latter end of *November*. The Transported at this time were in Number an hundred and forty thousand Men, Women, and Children.

A bold *Morisco*, whose Name was *Melini Siqueira*, having retired after the first Embarcation to the Mountains of *Sugar*, which were wholly inhabited by *Moriscoes*, exhorted them to take up Arms, and defend themselves and their Families, and to die rather with their Swords in their Hands, than to go tamely aboard the Gallies, like so many Sheep to be murdered, as all the *Moriscoes* that had embark'd, had been to his certain Knowledge. With this dismal Story, *Melini* had in a short time got fifteen thousand *Moriscoes* together in a Body, who having proclaimed *Melini* their King, did all promise to live and die with him.

This *Morisco* Army upon the *Viceroy's* having sent no Troops against them until the Embarcations were all over, is said to have grown very cruel and insolent, and to have murdered all the Priests and Fryars they could

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could lay their Hands on, and to have burnt publicly all the Images and Reliques that were in their Churches and Houses, and particularly the Images of *St. Vincent Ferrer*, who had preached many Years to their Ancestors. But so soon as the Embarcations were dispatched, *Don Austin Mexia* was sent with a great Body of *Veteran Troops* to reduce them, and though the *Moriscoes* fought very desperately, and had the Advantage of the Ground, yet being both ill arm'd, and ill officer'd, they were quickly subdued, and their King *Melini* being taken Prisoner, was sent to *Valencia*, where he was put to Death as a Traitor.

There was another great Insurrection of the *Moriscoes* at the same time in the *Monte de Cortes*, raised by one *Vincent Turigo*, with the very same Story. This was quelled by the *Conde Carlet*, with a great Slaughter of the *Moriscoes*, whose Leader *Vincent* being taken, he murdered himself in Prison.

The *Morisco* Men and Women that were made Prisoners in these two Insurrections, were immediately embark'd, and put ashore on the Coast of *Barbary*; but their Children, who were a great many thousands, were sold by the Soldiers to the *Spaniards*, for ten, twelve, and fifteen Ducats a Piece.

Upon

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Upon this great Sale of *Morisco* Children, a hot Debate arose among the *Casuits*, whether it was lawful for those that had bought them, to make them Slaves? And the King inclining to the merciful Side, did by a Proclamation declare them, not to be Slaves, and, *That they should only serve those that had bought them, and would give them a Christian Education, as many Years after they were Twelve Years old, as they were under Twelve when they were bought.*

A fierce Debate did arise likewise betwixt the *Viceroy* and the *Archbishop*, concerning those Children. The *Viceroy*, who thought *Valencia* was depopulated enough already, was for keeping all the *Moriscoes* which had been sold by the Soldiers, that were under Fifteen Years old, affirming, *That being dispersed among the Old Christians, and having no Parents nor Relations near them, to corrupt them, they would all of course become true Christians.* But the *Archbishop*, who pretended to know better than the *Viceroy*, after what Age there was no making a *Mahometan* a true *Christian*, was for having all the *Moriscoes*, that were above seven Years of Age, when they were bought, banished; and writing to the King about it, he affirm'd, *That if all the Moriscoes which had been sold by the Soldiers were kept in Spain, (a great many thousands of them being ten, twelve, and fif-*
teen

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teen Years old) after two or three Generations, Valencia would be filled with Mahometans again. The King, after having heard what was to be offer'd on both sides, gave Sentence, That all that were above seven Years old, should be forthwith transported into Barbary, as the Archbishop had advised. With which Sentence the Viceroy was so much displeased, that he suspended the Execution of it until his Majesty was better inform'd; affirming to every body, That it would be a less Cruelty to cut the Throats of all those harmless and helpless Creatures, than to leave them on the Shore of Barbary, with no Body to take Care of them, the Parents, and near Relations of most of them having been killed in the late Insurrections. I could never learn whether this Command of the King's was ever executed, and so can only say, that if it was, we need not wonder at his having been under such great Terrors of Conscience when he was upon his Death Bed, as we are told he was.

The Moriscoes of the Kingdom of Valencia being all either banished or killed, on the 22d of January, 1610. the Ban for expelling all the Moriscoes in the Kingdom of Granada, Murcia, and Sevil, was published by the Marquess of St. German, in the Form following:

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The

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The King.

AS Princes are oblig'd in Conscience to exterminate all things out of their Kingdoms, that are scandalous and prejudicial to good Subjects, dangerous to the Government, or offensive to God; so it is manifest from Experience, that many Mischiefs have happen'd to the Kingdoms of *Granada*, *Murcia*, and *Sevil*, by means of the *Moriscoes* that live in them. For they (besides their being descended from those who rebelled in the Kingdom of *Granada*, and who begun their Rebellion with murdering and martyring all the *Priests* and *Old Christians* they could lay their hands upon, and invited the *Turk* to come and assist them; and who, that they might repent of their Wickedness, and live peaceably and honourably after the manner of *Christians*, were removed out of that Kingdom, having had such things prescribed to them, as were sufficient to have produced that Effect) have deny'd to yield Obedience to our Orders, or to embrace our Faith, but have, to the great Dishonour of God, gone on detesting it, as is manifest from the great Multitudes of *Moriscoes* that have been punished by the Office of the Holy Inquisition: And who besides their having

com-

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‘ committed divers Robberies and Murders
‘ on the Persons of Old Christians, have
‘ sent Deputies to the *Turks*, to desire his As-
‘ sistance; having also solicited other Princes
‘ to send them Succours, offering ’em their
‘ Persons and Estates if they would assist
‘ them; which Treasonable Councils having
‘ never been discovered by any of them, but
‘ on the contrary, conceal’d and deny’d by
‘ them all, is a manifest Proof of their being
‘ all alike minded and affected as to the O-
‘ bedience they owe to God and us, and to
‘ the Security of these Kingdoms.

‘ All which having been consider’d, toge-
‘ ther with the strict Obligation we are un-
‘ der, to procure the Conservation and Good
‘ of our Subjects, and being desirous to com-
‘ ply with that Obligation; We have with
‘ the Advice of divers learned, pious and
‘ prudent Persons, who are very zealous for
‘ God’s Service and ours, determined to ba-
‘ nish out of the Kingdoms of *Granada*,
‘ *Murcia*, and *Sevil*, and out of the Town
‘ of *Hornacres*, all the New Christian *Moriscoes*, Men, Women, and Children, that
‘ live in them: It being expedient, when a-
‘ ny heinous or detestable Crimes are com-
‘ mitted by some particular Persons of a
‘ Community, to dissolve the said Society,
‘ and to exterminate all those, Great and
‘ Small, who do subvert the Orders of good

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Government, to prevent the spreading
of their Contagion.

‘ We do therefore by these Presents, or-
‘ dain and command all New Christians,
‘ without Exception, living or residing
‘ within the Kingdoms of *Granada*, *Mur-*
‘ *cia* and *Sevil*, and in the Town of *Horna-*
‘ *res*, of whatsoever Age or Sex, as well Na-
‘ tives as Strangers, whensoever, or for what-
‘ soever cause they came into them, Slaves
‘ only excepted, within 30 Days after the
‘ Publication of these our Letters, to depart
‘ out of all the Kingdoms and Dominions of
‘ *Spain*, with their Sons and Daughters,
‘ Men-servants and Maid-servants, and
‘ with all of their Family that are of the
‘ *Morisca* Race ; neither shall they at any
‘ time hereafter presume to return to live in
‘ them, or pass thorow them, or any part
‘ of them ; and we do prohibit them to go
‘ thorough the Kingdom of *Valencia*, or *Ar-*
‘ *ragon*, or to presume to stay in them : And
‘ in case any of them shall, after the Expira-
‘ tion of the said Term, be found in any of
‘ our Kingdoms and Dominions, they shall
‘ be punished with Death, and have their
‘ Estates confiscated, to be disposed of at
‘ our Pleasure ; which Punishments they
‘ shall incur *ipso facto*, without farther Sen-
‘ tence, Process, or Declaration.

‘ And

of the Moriscoes out of Spain. 165

‘ And we do furthermore prohibit all
‘ Persons, of whatsoever Quality, State or
‘ Pre-eminence, in any of our Kingdoms, to
‘ receive or entertain, or, after the Expira-
‘ tion of the said Term, publickly or pri-
‘ vately, to protect any of the *Moriscoes*,
‘ Men or Women, within any of their
‘ Houses or Precincts, upon pain of forfeit-
‘ ing all their Goods, Vassals, Castles, and
‘ other Inheritances; as also, all the Gra-
‘ ces we have bestowed on them, to our
‘ Treasury.

‘ And notwithstanding we might justly
‘ have commanded all the Goods, mova-
‘ ble and immovable, of the said *Moriscoes*,
‘ being the Goods of Traytors, guilty of
‘ Treason, both against God and Man, to
‘ have been confiscate to our Treasury:
‘ Nevertheless, being willing to treat them
‘ with Clemency, our Will is, That with-
‘ in the Term of thirty Days, they may
‘ sell their movable Goods, and such as
‘ do move themselves, and may carry the
‘ Price thereof with them, but not in Mo-
‘ ney, Gold, or Silver, nor in Jewels, nor
‘ in Bills of Exchange, but in Commodities
‘ that are not prohibited, and which shall
‘ be bought of the Natives of these King-
‘ doms, and not of others, and shall be like-
‘ wise of the Growth of these Kingdoms.
‘ And the said *Moriscoes*, and *Moriscaes*,

M 3

‘ may,

And

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‘ may, during the Term of the said thirty
‘ Days, dispose of themselves and such
‘ Goods, and may change them for the said
‘ Commodities and Fruits, and may, pay-
‘ ing the customary Duties, carry with
‘ them what they have bought, reserving
‘ all their immovable Goods to our self, to
‘ be laid out for the Service of God, and
‘ the Good of the Publick, as shall be judg-
‘ ed most convenient. We do declare, that
‘ We do take their Persons, and all their
‘ Goods, during the said Term, under Our
‘ Protection, and Royal publick Faith, that
‘ they may, during the said time, go about
‘ in Safety and Security, and may change
‘ or alienate the said movable Goods, or,
‘ which do move themselves, and may lay
‘ out the Price thereof, whether in Gold,
‘ Silver or Jewels, in buying the Commo-
‘ dities of these Kingdoms of the Natives ;
‘ and that they may not, during the said
‘ Term, be any ways injured in their Per-
‘ sons or Goods, under the Penalties incurred
‘ by those that do violate the Royal publick
‘ Faith. And we do furthermore grant
‘ Power and License to the said *Moriscoes* of
‘ both Sexes, to carry the said Commodities
‘ and Fruits out of these our Kingdoms and
‘ Dominions, either by Sea or Land, pay-
‘ ing the customary Duties for them, pro-
‘ vided, as is abovesaid, that they export

‘ no

of the Moriscoes out of Spain. 167

‘ no Gold, Silver, or stampd Money, or
‘ any other Commodities prohibited by the
‘ Laws of these our Kingdoms, either in
‘ Specie, or in Bills of Exchange, nor no
‘ other Goods and Fruits that are prohibi-
‘ ted, only they may carry so much Mo-
‘ ney with them as is necessary to the de-
‘ fraying of the Charges of their Journey
‘ by Land or Sea: And we do command
‘ all the Ministers of Justice of these King-
‘ doms, and all the Commanders of our
‘ Gallies and Galleons, to cause all the
‘ foresaid Orders to be observed and ful-
‘ fill’d, and to yield all convenient Favour
‘ and Assistance to the due and speedy Ex-
‘ ecution of the same.

‘ And we do command these our Let-
‘ ters, and all that is contained in them, to
‘ be published by the Mouth of a Cryer,
‘ that they may come to the Knowledge
‘ of all, and none may pretend Ignorance.

*Given at Madrid,
the 9th of De-
cember, 1609.*

I, The KING.

Andrew de Prada.

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Notwithstanding the *Moriscoes* were commanded by this *Ban*, to take all their Children with them, the Marquess of St. Germane had a secret Order from the King, To stop the Children, Male and Female, that were under seven Years old, of all the *Moriscoes* that freighted Ships to carry them and their Families to Barbary, or to any Country that was not subject to the Pope. But the *Moriscoes* having had some Intelligence of this Order, all of them that had Children under that Age freighted Ships, or took their Passage for France or Italy; to which Countries the most of them never went; having after they were at Sea, made a new Bargain with the Masters of the Ships, to put them ashore in Barbary. And those that did go to Italy with their Families, made no stay there, but pass'd over to Barbary by the first Opportunity that offer'd.

The King having given leave to these *Moriscoes* to sell all their movable Goods, and all that did move themselves, and to carry the Price of those Goods away with them, in the Fruits and Manufactures of Spain bought of the Natives, tho it looked like a Favour, yet it was of very little Benefit to them; for being so limited, the Natives bought the *Moriscoes* Goods very cheap, and sold their own very dear.

As

of the Moriscoes out of Spain. 169

As the Barons of *Valencia* had done all that they were able, to have hindred the Expulsion of the *Moriscoes*, as the greatest Evil that could have befallen them: So the Deputies of the Kingdom of *Arragon*, fearing that the same Blow was preparing for them, did, to prevent its being given, if it were possible, dispatch *Don Francisco de Aragon Conde de Luna*, and Doctor *Martin Carillo*, two of the ablest Men in the Kingdom to Court, with Warmth and Freedom to lay before the King the great and innumerable Damages, publick and private, which *Arragon* must sustain, if the *Moriscoes* were all driven out of it. But tho' no Commission could be executed with more Zeal, or with greater Diligence and Ability than this was at *Madrid*; the King's Brains were stunn'd so, with the Din the Bell of *Villila* had made when it rang it self: And with the Stories he was continually plyed with from all Quarters, of fresh and loud miraculous Calls from Heaven, to expel all those Infidels; that he was stone deaf to the loudest Remonstrances made against it by the wisest of his Subjects.

On the 29th of May, 1610. the Ban for the Expulsion of all the *Moriscoes* in the Kingdom of *Arragon* was published by *Gaston de Moncada*, Marquess of *Aytona*, Vice-

roy

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roy of that Kingdom; by which *Ban* sixteen thousand Families were turned out of the Kingdom of *Arragon*. And on the same Day the *Ban* for expelling all the *Moriscoes* in the Principality of *Catalonia*, was published by *Don Hector Pignatello*, Duke of *Monteleon*, the Governor: Which two *Bans* of Expulsion being almost Word for Word the same with that of *Valencia*, I shall not here insert them.

By a Letter bearing Date the 2d of *January*, 1610. the King gave leave to all the *Moriscoes* in *Old* and *New Castile*, *Estremadura*, and *Mancha*, to sell all their movable Goods, and go into *France*. But as there was not one *Morisco* Family that made use of that surprizing License, so had they offered to have done it, it is more than probable that they would have been stopt, this License having been granted for no other end, but to discover how the *Castilian Moriscoes* stood affected to the *French*, with whom the Court of *Spain*, to justify their Expelling of them, would needs have them to be in a Correspondence.

Upon the *Moriscoes* not having left *Spain* when they had leave, they were all expelled by the following *Ban*, which was published on the 11th of *July*, 1610.

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of the Moriscoes out of Spain. 171

The King.

‘ **W**hen we commanded the Expul-
‘ sion of all the new Christians,
‘ and *Moriscoes*, Men and Women, who
‘ lived in the Kingdoms of *Valencia*, *Anda-*
‘ *lusia*, *Granada*, *Murcia*, *Catalonia*, and *Ar-*
‘ *ragon*, for the Reasons and Causes men-
‘ tioned in the several Bans which we did
‘ order to be published, we also gave Per-
‘ mission to all of that Race inhabiting in
‘ the Kingdoms of Old and New *Castile*,
‘ *Estremadura*, and *Mancha*, to go, if they
‘ had a Mind to it, out of these our King-
‘ doms and Dominions. But having been
‘ by divers ways certainly informed, that
‘ such of them as have not made use of that
‘ License, are in a Commotion, and do go
‘ on selling their Estates with an Intention
‘ of leaving these Kingdoms; from whence
‘ it is manifest, that the *Moriscoes* all over
‘ *Spain* are all alike disaffected as to God’s
‘ Service and ours, and the Good of these
‘ Kingdoms; and that all the Endeavours
‘ that have been used thorough a long Se-
‘ ries of Years to convert them, and the
‘ Examples of the Old Christians, the Na-
‘ tives of these Kingdoms, (who do live so
‘ christianly, and so loyally) have had no
‘ good Effect upon them: But on the con-
‘ trary, they have with a strange Obstina-
‘ cy

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cy and Obdurateness, entred into Con-
spiracies against us, our royal Crown,
and these our Kingdoms of *Spain*, and
have solicited the *Turk* and other Prin-
ces for Succours, with Promises to serve
them with their Lives and Fortunes.
Now although this undutiful Behaviour
which is so offensive to God, has been
laid before us, by Men of great Piety and
Learning, who have further assured us,
that we were bound in Conscience to
remedy it, and might without any Scru-
ple proceed against them, with the Ri-
gour that their Crimes do deserve, and
so punish them all with Death, and the
Confiscation of their Estates, as Here-
ticks, Apostates, and Traytors both to
God and us: Nevertheless, we not being
willing to use Rigour, but rather Cle-
mency with them, after having recom-
mended this Affair to God, whose Ho-
nour is so much concerned in it, we have
resolved for the Security of our Kingdoms,
and of our good and loyal Subjects, with
the Advice of our Council of State and
Prelates, and other prudent Persons, zea-
lous for God's Service and ours, to expel
out of the said Kingdoms of Old and New
Castile, *Estremadura*, and *Mancha*, all the
new Christians of *Valencia*, *Granada*, and
Arragon, that live therein, Men, Women
and

of the Moriscoes out of Spain. 173

and Children; it being reasonable when
any heinous and detestable Crime is com-
mitted by some of the Members of a
Society or Community, to dissolve the
Society for it, the lesser Suffering with,
and for the greater; or when any do
corrupt Countreys, Cities, or Villages,
that they be banish'd out of them, to
prevent the spreading of their Contagi-
on.

We do therefore by Virtue of these
Presents, or of a Copy of them signed by a
publick Notary, command and ordain
all the said New Christians and *Moriscoes*
of *Granada, Valencia, and Arragon*, living
in the said Kingdoms of Old and New
Castile, Estremadura, and Mancha, Men
and Women of whatsoever Age, or for
whatsoever Cause they did come into and
reside in the said Kingdoms, within 60
Days after the Publication of this writ-
ting, to go out of *Spain* and all the Do-
minions thereof, with their Sons and
Daughters, and all their Servants that
are of the *Morisco* Race; neither shall any
of them hereafter ever presume to re-
turn into them, or into any part of them,
either to live or pass thro' them; which
Command is not to be so understood, as
to expel any Christians that are married
to *Moriscoes*, or their Husbands, Wives,
or

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‘ or Children, nor any of the *Moors* who
‘ have come of their own Accord from
‘ *Barbary*, that they might profess Christi-
‘ anity, nor any of the *Moriscoes* that are
‘ Clerks, Fryars or Nuns, nor such of them
‘ as are Slaves of the Rebellion of *Grana-*
‘ *da*.

‘ And we do prohibit the *Moriscoes* that
‘ are to be expelled, to pass thro’ the
‘ Kingdoms of *Valencia*, *Arragon*, or *Ca-*
‘ *stile*, but require them to repair to the
‘ Ports of the Kingdoms of *Murcia*, *Gra-*
‘ *nada*, and *Andaluzia*; and not to return
‘ into any of our Kingdoms upon pain of
‘ Death. And in case any of them shall
‘ after the Expiration of the said Term,
‘ be found in any of our Kingdoms, they
‘ shall be put to Death, and their Estates
‘ shall be forfeited and apply’d to such Uses
‘ as we shall judge fit: To which Punish-
‘ ments we do deliver them, as Persons
‘ condemned *de facto*, without any Process,
‘ Sentence, or Declaration.

‘ And we do prohibit all Persons, of
‘ whatsoever State, Quality, Preheminence,
‘ or Condition, publickly, or privately, to
‘ receive, entertain, or protect any *Morisco*
‘ or *Morisca*, after the Expiration of the said
‘ Term, in any of their Lands or Houses, or
‘ in any other Place, upon pain of forfeiting
‘ all their Goods, Vassals, Fortresses, and
‘ other

of the Moriscoes out of Spain. 175

other Inheritances, together with all their
Pensions, to our Treasury. And notwithstanding we might justly have seized
on all the Goods of the said *Moriscoes*, Movable and Immovables, as on the Goods
of People guilty of Treason, both against
God and Man; nevertheless, being willing
to use Clemency with them, it is our Pleasure that they may, during the Term of
the said 60 Days, sell all their movable
Goods, and all that do move themselves,
and carry their Prices with them, but not
in Money, Gold, Plate, or Jewels, nor in
Bills of Exchange, but in such Commodities as are not prohibited, and are bought
of the Natives of these Kingdoms, and of
none else. And the *Moriscoes* and *Moriscaes*
may, during the Term of the said 60 Days,
dispose of their movable Goods, and of
those that do move themselves, and with
the Price of them may buy the said Commodities and Fruits of the Country, and
carry away with them those they so buy,
their real Estates being forfeited to our
Treasury, to be apply'd to the Service of
God, and of the Publick, according to our
Directions. And we do declare that we do
take, and do receive them under our Protection, royal Security, and Defence, and
do so secure them and their Goods, that
they may go about safely, and sell, change,
or

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‘ or alienate all their said movable Goods,
 ‘ or that do move themselves, and may lay
 ‘ out the Money, Gold, Plate, or Jewels,
 ‘ they receive for them, on Commodities
 ‘ bought of Natives of the Country; neither
 ‘ will we suffer any, during the said Term,
 ‘ to offer them any Injury in their Persons
 ‘ or Goods, under the Penalties suffered by
 ‘ the Violaters of the publick Faith.

‘ And we do farther grant License and
 ‘ Power to the said *Moriscoes* of both Sexes,
 ‘ to carry the said Commodities and Fruits
 ‘ out of these Kingdoms, either by Sea or
 ‘ Land, paying the customary Duties for
 ‘ them. And, notwithstanding it is against
 ‘ the Laws of our Kingdoms to export any
 ‘ Gold, Silver, or Jewels out of them, we
 ‘ do grant them License to export them,
 ‘ provided it be all registred, and the one
 ‘ half be paid to our Treasury at the
 ‘ Port where they embark, where an Offi-
 ‘ cer shall be appointed to receive it, as has
 ‘ been done by the other *Moriscoes* that
 ‘ were banished.

‘ And we do command all Magistrates
 ‘ and Justices, and all the Commanders of
 ‘ Gallies and Galleons, to see that all that
 ‘ is here ordered be observed and fulfil-
 ‘ led, and to yield all convenient Favour
 ‘ and Assistance to the due and speedy Ex-
 ‘ ecution of the same.

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of the Moriscoes out of Spain. 177

‘ And we do command these our Letters,
‘ and all that is contained therein, to be
‘ published by the Voice of a Crier, that so
‘ none may pretend Ignorance.

*Given at Aranda the
10th of July, 1610.*

I, the KING.

Anthony De

The *Spanish* Historians are not agreed about the Number of the *Moriscoes* that were expelled *Spain* at this time. Some say they were a Million; others, that they were nine hundred thousand; but by the most they are said to have been six hundred Thousand Men, Women and Children, besides the Slain and Detained.

This great loss of People falling upon a Country, that was far from being overstock'd with People before (which in Truth no Nation can be) and which besides those that were expelled, had few that were industrious, or that were skilled in most of her profitable Manufactures, it was such a fatal Blow to *Spain*, that she has not to this Day, nor is ever like to recover of it. For as it is visible to every Body, that *Spain* is

N not

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not a quarter peopled, nor is ever like to be, so long as she has such prodigious Numbers of Priests, Monks, Fryars, Nuns, &c. and has the great and constant Drains of the *Indies*, *Flanders*, and *Italy*: So it is no less visible, that her scantling of People are by their Pride and Superstition, more than by their Climate, made so lazy, that nothing, no not her being the sole Mistress of all the Treasures of the *Indies*, can ever make her rich. For those vast Treasures, tho dug and brought into *Europe* by none but *Spanish* Subjects, can never stay in *Spain*, while the *Indies* from whence they are brought, are supply'd with Goods, not manufactured in *Spain*, but in foreign Countries.

It was not long after these Expulsions, that *Spain* began to feel the bad Effects they had upon her; as is plain from a Memorial delivered in the Year 1618. to *Philip* the 3d. by a *Junta* that had been assembled by the King, to consider how the ruinous Estate of his Kingdoms might be remedy'd; the Memorial begins with the following Complaint.

THE Depopulation and want of People in *Spain*, is at present much greater than was ever seen or heard of before, in the Reigns of any of your Majesty's

of the Moriscoes out of Spain. 179

‘sty’s Progenitors; it being in Truth so
‘great at this time, that if God do not pro-
‘vide such a Remedy for us, as we may
‘expect from your Majesty’s Piety and
‘Wisdom, the Crown of *Spain* is hastning
‘to its total Ruin and Destruction; nothing
‘being more visible, than that *Spain esta a*
‘*pique de dar interra*; that is, *is on the Point*
‘*of falling flat on the Ground*, its Houses be-
‘ing in Ruins every where, and without a-
‘ny body to rebuild them, and its Towns
‘and Villages lying like so many Defarts.

In the same Year wherein this melan-
choly Memorial was deliver’d to the King,
the Duke of *Lerma*, the chief Author of all
these depopulating Expulsions, was turned
from Court, and out of all his Offices, his
chief Confident and Counsellor *Don Rodri-
go Calderon*, being committed at the same
time to Prison, was after two Years and
a half Imprisonment, put to Death publick-
ly in the great *Placa* of *Madrid*, the Duke
his Patron’s Head having been secured, by
the Pope’s having covered it with a Car-
dinal’s Hat, after he begun to find himself
in Danger, which was not many Weeks
before his falling into Disgrace.

His Brother the Cardinal, Archbishop of
Toledo, who had been a zealous Promoter
of the Expulsions, died a few Days after

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the Duke was turn'd from Court, purely of Grief and Discontent. There was also one *Baltasar de Sandoval*, Dean of *Toledo*, who was either Brother, or a near Kinsman of the Duke's, who after the Expulsions, was made a Cardinal by *Paul* the Vth, so that there were three Cardinals living at the same time of the Family of *Lerma*, which is more than any Family, the Pope's own Families not excepted, has to boast of. So great a Service was the Expulsion of the *Moriscoes* reckoned to be by the Court of *Rome*.

King *Philip*, who died soon after, is said by a famous *Spanish* Historian, to have had his Conscience, upon his Death-Bed, overwhelm'd with Horrors. And though we are not told by any, what it was that caused them, yet considering, that besides these inhumane Expulsions, we read of nothing in his whole Life that was black or tragical: It may reasonably be presumed, that it was the Memory of the Expulsions that disquieted his Conscience so much. Neither is it any wonder that they should do it. To have, contrary to all the Laws of Religion and Humanity, made above an hundred thousand Families miserable beyond expression, being a dreadful thing to reflect on, when one is summoned by Death

to

of the Moriscoes out of Spain. 181

to answer for it before the Divine Tribunal, where they are to have Judgment without Mercy, who have shewed no Mercy to their Fellow Creatures.

Death is, by a *Spanish* Historian, said to have approached this Prince encompassed with Scruples so grievous, concerning his Government, that they made all his Joints tremble, and changed his Visage so, that he looked ghastly: And after having lamented the Difficulty of Reparation, amidst great Agonies of Spirit, he made Answer to some that exhorted him to *trust in God's Mercy; I do trust, but afterwards I fear, for tho God is merciful, he is also just.*

Immediately upon this King's Death, his Confessor, Father *Luiz de Alliga*, tho he was Inquisitor General, was forbid the Court; and the Lands and Pensions which had been granted to the Duke of *Lerma*, and to his Kindred and Creatures, were all resumed at once; and that Duke's great Confident, *Don Rodrigo Calderon*, was put to Death publickly at *Madrid*. We are not told why these three hard things were the first Actions of the young King's Reign; but it is not very improbable, that their having been the great Instruments in the gene-

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ral Expulsion of the *Moriscoes*, to the depopulating and impoverishing of *Spain*, beyond Recovery, might be the thing that brought so heavy a Vengeance upon them from the Court.

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of the Moriscoes out of Spain. 183

A
S E R M O N

Preached in the
Cathedral of *Valencia*,

By the Archbishop of that City,

On the *Sunday* after the *Ban* for the
Expulsion of the Moriscoes out of
that Kingdom was Published.

Praised be the Most Holy Sacrament :

T Hough the Gospel of the Day is full of
Doctrine, teaching how we ought to love
God and our Neighbours, which are the two

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Hinges whereon the whole Doctrine of the Gospel turns; nevertheless, I have not thought fit to spend the little Time that is allowed me, on that Subject, remitting it to some other Occasion; what at present offers it self in this City and Kingdom, and with which you are all acquainted, being more urgent. Neither do I reckon, that in doing so, I transgress the Rule that ought to be observed by those that ascend the Pulpit, but do therein rather comply with what the Spirit of God hath taught us; directing us to apply our Doctrine to the Occurrences of the Times; after the Example of skilful Physicians, and prudent Stewards, who have Recourse to the Distemper that is most dangerous, and the Affairs of the Family that are the most pressing. This St. Paul advised his Disciple Timothy to do, instructing him in the Method he was to use in his Preaching. Preach, saith he, the Word; but does not tell what Word: On purpose to teach, that in this place, no other Words but those of God ought to be spoken, which only do deserve, by way of Eminency, to be called, The Word; And which, as our Lord saith, giveth Spirit and Life. But the Apostle goes on; Preach the Word without being weary; and with great Instance and Vehemence, and observe the Opportunity and Occasion, and let not your Words be as the Words of an imprudent Man; which the Holy Spirit compares to Spoils strow'd and scatter'd in the way,

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of the Moriscoes out of Spain. 185

way, without Order or Consideration. *This Doctrine the Apostle himself learnt from what Christ said to his Disciples. That he deserved to be called the faithful Steward, who paid his Lord's Servants what was owing to them; and he the prudent, who gave them their Meat in due time and season: And St. Chrysostom, speaking of this Place, saith, Two things our Lord assigned here as necessary, and which do so depend the one on the other, that if the one be wanting, the other is of no Advantage; Faithfulness in looking after the Rents; and Prudence in dispensing Provisions in their Season: And it is the Observation of St. Hierome, that when the Prophet Malachy saith, The Priests Lips shall preserve Knowledge; his Meaning was, That the Lips of the Priest are to preach Knowledge, and to publish Doctrine in its Season. We may therefore very well forbear to speak at this time of the Man that was cured of the Dropsy, and rather treat of the present Novelty we see in this Kingdom; out of which his Majesty has commanded all the New Christians to depart, which is a thing of greater Consideration and Importance, than ever happened to our Ancestors, or than may ever be seen by our Posterity. Let us therefore beseech the Lord to assist us with his Grace, taking the most Blessed Virgin for our Intercessor, &c.*

To

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To treat hereof, I have thought fit to consider the Words of the Apostle St. Paul, written to the Galatians :

GAL. V. 12.

I wish they were cut off that Trouble you.

THE Holy Apostle had endeavoured to convert the *Gentile Greeks* of that City to the Faith of the Gospel, and a great many of them had given some Signs of their being converted ; but thorough the bad Conversation of the *Gentiles*, among whom they lived, they had been disquieted, to the creating of great Disturbances in that City. The Apostle therefore, in order to remedy those Mischiefs, writes to them : And the first Remedy he prescribed, was ; That for their Conservation, and for the Cessation of Disturbances, they should beseech the Lord, that the Infidels that troubled them might be cut off.

The word, *Utinam*, has a great Emphasis, signifying a most anxious and fervent Desire ; as if he had said, I wish I could see those that trouble you cut off and destroy'd ; O that God would be so gracious to me, as to

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to let me see those that disturb and scandalize you, driven out from among you.

Now such an Affection and Desire, is what all in general ought to have, it being an effect of that Zeal for the Honour and Glory of God, which is every one's Duty; being part of the *Command of Loving God*, which is the *First Commandment* of the *Holy Law*. Zeal is the effect of that Love; so that where there is no great Love for God, there is little Zeal for his Honour; and by how much the greater such a Love is, so much the greater is such a Zeal. And as God's Love, which is infinite, is much greater than any other Love, so for that reason, God's Zeal is much greater than any other Zeal; insomuch that he is called by way of Excellency, *The Zealot*; as we are told by one that knew much of God, and had spoke with him, as one Friend speaketh with another; so that when ye hear the *Almighty*, the *Infinite*, the *Saviour*, the *Glorifier* named, you understand God; so when you hear the *Zealot*, you ought to understand it of God likewise. The Divine *Apostle* discovered his holy Zeal, in saying, *O that I might see those that trouble your Peace expelled from among you.* A Wish worthy of an *Apostle* and Minister of God, and most acceptable to our Lord. And that it was so, our Lord would have St. *John* know from his own Mouth, by whom it is

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is left written in the *Book* of his *Revelations*, for the Information of all future Ages. That holy and beloved *Apostle* saith, *On the Lord's Day*; a Day famous for having been consecrated by the triumphant Resurrection of our *Lord Jesus Christ*: As if we should say, our *Lord Christ* spoke to me on his own Day, on the Day whereon he received the due Reward of his Obedience; which was the *Lord's Day*. And he commanded me to tell the Bishop of the City of *Ephesus*, I know the Works that thou do'st, and the Troubles thou undergoest in thy Ministry, and the Patience wherewith thou endurest them; and leaving the most important to the last, I know likewise thou canst not bear with them that are evil. And in the same Extacy and Rapture our *Lord Christ* commanded him likewise to tell the Bishop of *Smyrna*, I know thy Tribulation, and how, though thou art rich before me, thou art poor in the Eyes of Men, and art spoken against, and outraged by those, who say, they are faithful, but are rather of the Congregation of Satan. So from what we have said, we may gather how acceptable a thing it is to God, that we should be zealous for his Honour, and for abhorring Evil Doers, undergo Trouble and Persecution.

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And this same Doctrine which Christ was pleased to declare to St. *John* by word of Mouth, he himself preached in Fact to his Apostles, and all the Faithful, and that not only once, but twice, and upon the most solemn Occasions, and that on purpose to make his Followers sensible of its great Importance; and that we, Pastors and Bishops might learn of our Lord Christ, who is called by St. *Peter*, the *Pastor and Bishop*; and who, when he had Occasion, shewed himself zealous for the Honour of his Eternal Father, to comply therein with the Will of a Zealot.

The Apostles and Evangelists, St. *Matthew*, and St. *John*, do give us an Account of a thing that happen'd twice to our Lord Christ. St. *John* saith, it happen'd once at the Beginning of his Preaching, after his having wrought his first Miracle in *Cana of Galilee*. And St. *Matthew* saith, it happen'd a second time, four Days before our Lord was crucify'd; so that our Lord did, both at the Beginning, and End of his Preaching, teach us this Doctrine. Our Lord Christ, says the Evangelist, went into the Temple, and seeing that what was done there, was contrary to God's Honour, the Zealous God took the Cords, wherewith the Sheep and Oxen were bound, and having made a Whip of them, he went about shaking

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king it at those Cattle, and Men, driving them all out of the Temple; and as to those that sold Pigeons, he commanded them to be gone with them; and going up to the Tables of the Money-Changers, he threw them down upon the Ground, scattering about the Money that was upon 'em. Now let us consider this Fact, and we shall see, that besides its being the greatest Miracle that ever Christ wrought, for so St. Hierom saith it was, who affirms it to be greater than the raising of *Lazarus* from the Dead; the repressing of so many, and in the Sight of so great a Concourſe of People, after such a manner, none of them offering to lay hold of him, or denying to obey him, notwithstanding they were at that time contriving his Death, being a thing, that nothing but the Almighty God could have done. But to pass over this, and come to that which Men and Angels do admire, that is, how it was possible for one, of our Saviour's Mildness, Modesty, and Composure, to do such a Work; to whip Men, to thrust them violently out of the Temple, to break Tables, and throw Money about, not appearing to be Actions suitable to the Benignity and usual Practice of our Lord Christ, of whom the Prophet *Isaiah* saith, that he should be patient, and gentle as a Lamb, and that when they should take

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his Cloaths from him, he would not open his Mouth, as was accomplished at his most Holy Passion; and who when he was cursed; cursed not again, when he was tormented, did not complain, having resign'd up his Will to his Father Eternal, who judgeth justly, and yet this very mild Lamb, whose Patience and Silence under Injuries was so much admired by the perverse President, when there was an Occasion offered of remedying things that were offensive to God, turned fierce, and forgetting, as we may say, his Composedness, he changed the Mildness of a Sheep into the Fierceness and Boisterousness of a Lion. There is one word spoke by St. John, that in my Opinion, is worthy of our Consideration, it being a satisfactory Account of this his Behaviour: That Disciple saith, he remembered that it was written, *the Zeal of thy Honour*, that is, *of thy House*, the Temple being the place where God was honoured, *has eaten me up*, that is, has mashed and chewed me as a thing that is eaten, broken and chewed. From whence I gather, that the Disciples being astonished at this strange Action of their Master's, and conferring together about what should be the Cause of his having done a thing so contrary to his Custom, what was said by the Holy King David occurred to them, and what he had

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both done himself, and had prophesied of Christ, of whom he was a Type, saying one to another thereupon, this Zeal is like that of the mild and patient King *David*, who was a King of such Benignity and Clemency, that he alledged his Benignity and Clemency to God, who judgeth the thoughts according to Truth, knowing the Heart, who finding himself persecuted, said, Lord remember *David* and all his *Mildness*, which was so great after he was anointed King, that being persecuted by *Saul*, to take away his Life, with that Eagerness wherewith a Fowler pursues a Partridge in the Mountains, when he had two Opportunities of having killed *Saul*, and was advised to it by his Companions, he would not do it, nor lay hands on him. But besides this, hear another Instance of his Mildness: When a Kinsman of *Saul's* met him, and cursed him bitterly, and cast Stones at him, as one cast off by God, *David* was so far from revenging this Affront, that he reprov'd one of his Company for offering to do it, saying, *Let him curse me, since God would have him do it.* How clear a Proof is this of *David's* Mildness!

But you must now hear something of the Zeal that accompanied this Mildness, and the Fury wherewith he flew upon God's Enemies, who spoke Blasphemies, and committed

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mitted Sacrilege in his House ; the Zeal whereof, saith he, has confounded me ; and the beholding the Offences that are committed, has destroy'd me ; the Abhorrence I have for those that will not love God, being so vehement, that it has cast me into an Hectick Fever, which consumes me ; neither did he only in his Life-time revenge the Injuries that were done to God, but at his Death he charged his Son *Solomon* to revenge them ; so that in *David* we see, a King that is mild and rigid, merciful and severe, a Pardoner, and a Revenger, and that was both patient and zealous.

And I do now ask the Question, whether Kings that are both benign and rigorous, ended with *David* ? No, let us give thanks to God, for having given us a King with those Qualities, and let us thank him a thousand times for such a singular Mercy. Who is able to express the Modesty, Mildness, and Benignity our Lord the King, *Don Philip III.* brought into the World with him, and which continued with him in his Childhood, and continues now he is of perfect Age ? It is known to every Body, and all that have ever been in his Royal Presence have felt it, and are astonish'd at it, and do publish it to all the World. And as this is the *Mildness* of *David*, so this
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great Mildness has been exercised, not only towards his own faithful Subjects, but towards Infidels and Traytors to his Royal Person and Crown. His Majesty, from the hour he began his happy Reign, hath been extremely afflicted with the Offences done to God in *Spain*, by the *Moriscoes* that live in it, who notwithstanding their having been baptized, do follow the Law of *Mahomet*, teaching it likewise to their Children, and observing all the Rites of the *Alcoran* publickly, and despising the Ceremonies of the Holy Church, and deriding the *Sacraments*, *Images*, and other sacred Things. All which Mischiefs his Majesty endeavour'd to have remedy'd with Mildness, and with so great Application, as if he had no other Business, procuring *Edicts of Grace* of his *Holiness*, and writing to the *Bishops* of this Kingdom concerning it; manifesting likewise how earnestly he desired the Reduction of those Infidels, by commanding Places to be erected for the Instruction of their Boys and Girls, and ordering a Junta of us to meet in this City, to find out some ways, if it was possible, to cure those *Hereticks* of their Obstinacy and Obdurateness, which was lamented by him with such tender Expressions, as filled us all with Admiration and Confusion; having likewise to facilitate this Conversion, made Offers of Rewards

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wards and Privileges to those that would turn: All which proclaims the Greatness of his Majesty's Clemency and Benignity, as it does also the Greatness of the *Moriscoes* Wickedness, who had shut the Door against the Truth of the *Gospel*, and against all the Means that could be made use of for their Conversion. These are the Demonstrations of *David's*, I mean, of our Lord the King's Clemency and Benignity.

Let us now cast our Eye on the Zeal for God's Honour, which his Majesty has joined with this his Benignity and Mildness. You must know then, that the King has been inform'd by true and certain Advices, that amidst all these Endeavours used for the Conversion of those People, they were plotting and sending Embassies to the *Turk*, and other Heretical Princes and Potentates, who were Enemies to God, and the Crown of *Spain*, to invite them to invade and conquer it, offering them an 150000 paid Soldiers, and divers other Conveniencies: And that by these Promises made to encourage the Enterprize, the said Infidels were so far engaged, that they were preparing all Necessaries to invade us the next Spring; so that within six Months we should have had the *Turkish* Fleet, and that of our other Enemies upon our Coast, and must have seen *Spain* in a most forlorn, and wretched

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Condition. For though thorough the Mercy of God, and the Valour and Power of the King, we trust those Traytors would not have been able to have compass'd their Desires; nevertheless, taking us unprepared we should not have been able to have succour'd all the Parts of the Kingdom, and so must necessarily have sustain'd great Losses, in the Destruction of our holy Temples, and by Sacrileges committed against the most holy Sacrament, and the Contempt that would have been put upon those Sanctuaries and Reliques, which are preserved in this holy Temple, and in other Churches, as the most precious of all Treasures, and in the Murder and Martyrdom of all of us that are now alive; and of our Children and Brethren; and finally, in having the Name of *Mahomet* venerated in *Spain*, and that of our *Lord Jesus* blasphemed. All which Evils we should infallibly have incurr'd, by having these domestick Enemies among us, who do thirst to drink our Blood, that they may make themselves Masters of *Spain*. For which reason the Spirit of God did counsel us by the Mouth of the *Wise-man*, *Not to have our Enemy near us*, nor to suffer him to sit by us; because he will undoubtedly endeavour to turn us out of our Seat, that he may take it to himself.

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You have now heard of, and do admire at the Mildness our Lord the King has used with these People, and at his Patience in winking at their Faults; let us now treat of his Majesty's Holy Zeal and Resolution.

His Majesty finding all the Remedies he had apply'd to the Conversion of these People unsuccessful, and that instead of profiting thereby, they were the more hardned in their Errors and Heresies, he resolv'd to use a Remedy, which besides its being the only Remedy that remained, is so admirable and divine, that human Prudence, without a particular Light and Succour from Heaven, could never have found it out, for the Example of the World, and the Admiration of all that do, or shall ever live therein. Methinks I hear our Lord the King using the same Words with the Royal Prophet, in the 117th Psalm, *The time is come, Lord, to do;* without telling what was to be done; to signify, that the Work was so admirable and amazing, that it would astonish the World when they beheld it, and that that Work would comprehend a great many other Works, within it; as if we should say, the Work of Works, the Enterprize of Enterprizes; for such is that which we have now in our hands. Who my Brethren is able to exaggerate it with Words, or is able to conceive the Christianity, the Prudence, the

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Magnanimity, the Grandeur, that are contained in this Work ! For my own part, I find my self unable to express and dissect it, and so I shall give it over, and content my self with having said, that it is a Work worthy of such a King, and that such a King was worthy to be the Author of so Catholick and wise a Resolution.

And whereas all his Majesty's faithful Subjects do desire that the Effects of the Prudence and holy Zeal wherewith God has inspired his Royal Soul, may appear in his Government, as also the Effects of his Grandeur, and of the Power of his Royal Crown, so in this Work we see our desires abundantly comply'd with ; which does not only equal all that has ever been done by his famous Predecessors, but exceeds them all, so as to eclipse them. And that you may be sensible of the Truth of what I say, it is fit you should understand, that the Expulsion of the *Moors* out of this Kingdom, has been a thing that has been much desired and endeavoured, by our Lord the King's Predecessors, tho never executed by them.

Let us begin with the first Conqueror, the famous King *Don James*, who being at *Calatagud* two and twenty Years after he had subdued the Kingdom of *Valencia*, was, as the History informs us, told by a Gentleman of his Court, *That there was News, that*

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one of the chief Men among the Moors of Valencia had taken the Castles of Gallineya, Pego, and others; at which, though the King discover'd he was troubled, nevertheless he comforted himself, using the following Words, I am glad they have given us occasion to drive them all out of the Kingdom, that where the filthy Name of Mahomet is invoked, the sweet Name of Jesus our Master, Redeemer, and true God, may be praised and adored. And accordingly, on the Day of the Epiphany, in the Year 1262, the Command of the King was published in this very Church, That all the Moors should within a Month depart out of the Kingdom of Valencia. This had no effect, by reason of the Wars that broke out with the King of Castile. Nevertheless, the said Christian and valiant King continued still determined to banish them all, and did accordingly in his Will, which he made a little before his Death, charge his Son, King Don Pedro, to do it.

Don Ferdinand, who according to some Writers, was the first that was honour'd by the Church of Rome with the Title of Catholic, which has been ever since retained by the Kings of Spain, did likewise, as Historians tell us, command them all to be banished; which is confirmed by what is related in the Letters writ by our Lord the Em-

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peror Charles the Vth, to the Lords of the Vassals of this Kingdom, in the Year 1525. in which the following words are to be met with; *After our happy Succession in these our Kingdoms and Dominions of Spain, the thing we have laid most to heart, was to cleanse them from Infidelity, imitating therein the Catholick King and Queen, my Grandfather and Grandmother of Glorious Memory, who took so much pains in that Matter. For which Reason we are determined, not to suffer any Moors to remain in any of our Kingdoms, otherwise than in Slavery. To which Determination his Majesty was pushed on by Pope Clement the VIIth; who by a Breve, Dated at St. Peter's at Rome, the 12th of May, 1524. exhorted him to procure the Instruction of the Moors; and in case they refused to be instructed, to command them all, either to leave Spain, or to be made Slaves.* The Result of which was, The taking of that Expedient which was so prejudicial to all, the baptizing of them; as imagining, that so soon as they were in the Bosom of the Church, they would all have become Believers. But Experience has shewed, how they abused that Sacrament, with great Sacrilege and Blasphemy.

Our Lord the King, Don Philip II. after he succeeded in these Kingdoms, had the same Desire, and accordingly, in the

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Year 1568. he commanded the Prelates of this Kingdom to meet together to find out some Remedy; the most Reverend *Don Fernando de Loaze*, being at that time Archbishop of this Metropolis, in which Assembly there were several considerable Constitutions framed, which having been found to be of no Advantage, in the Year 1587. another Assembly was appointed, at which I was present, in which there were made several new Constitutions; after which, his Majesty being satisfy'd, that all the Diligence he had used did signify nothing, and that they still persevered in their Heresy, he resolved either to have sent them all out of *Spain*, or at least, to have transplanted them into the Inland Countries, which would have been attended with the same, if not greater Inconveniencies.

Finally, the last Year, we, the Prelates, were assembl'd again by his Majesty's Command, as you all know. Now from what has been said, it is manifest that this Enterprize has been desired by a Pope, an Emperor, and four Kings, who were all hindered from executing it, by the Greatness of the Work, under which they all sunk, and were worsted by it. They were sensible of the Necessity there was of clearing *Spain* of them, acknowledging the evident

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Danger it was in, whilst those Domestick Enemies remained in it, but the *Moles* and Greatness of the Enterprize did so far conquer their Courage, that they were overcome by the Multitude of Inconveniencies which were represented to them, as the Consequences thereof. But this mighty Enterprize I do really believe was reserved by Divine Providence, on purpose to give undeniable Testimony of the Paternal Succor wherewith it attends the Actions and Person of our Lord the King. That that which a valiant Conqueror, a Catholick King, an Emperor, so much celebrated in the World, for the many Victories he gained over the *Turks* and *Hereticks*, and *Catholicks* too, that were his Enemies, and a King whose Prudence was so well known and admir'd, tho they desired it, durst not undertake, is now executed by our Lord the King, with so great Zeal for the Glory and Honour of our Lord God, with such admirable Courage and Prudence, that we now see it begun; and shall, by the Favour of God, see it quickly concluded and ended, and the Kingdom of *Valencia* recovered, not in many Years, as it was recovered by the *Christian* Kings, but in a few Months more. Does it not appear to you that I had reason to say, that this is the greatest Action that we have seen in our own, or have read of

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in past times. After this, how great Ingratitude would it be in us of this Kingdom, not to acknowledge with particular Thanks, the Mercy which God has shewn us, and the great Good his Majesty has done for us, in beginning this noble Enterprize here? Ought we not to return Thanks to God, for his having chosen this, among many other Kingdoms, first to receive Safety, and to his Majesty, for having been pleased to order us to be an Example to all his other Kingdoms, so as not to gain only the Expulsion of the *Moriscoes*, who were Natives among us, but also the Expulsion of the *Moriscoes* of other parts; and that it will be recorded in the History of *Valencia*, that it was the first Kingdom which for its holy Zeal deserved to be freed from Hereticks, and which by a signal Demonstration has given a Testimony of its innate Fidelity, in having obeyed with great Chearfulness what its King and Lord has ordained and commanded: In all which the Duke of *Lerma* has bore a great part, out of the singular Love wherewith his Excellency attends to the Affairs of this Kingdom, and of all that live therein.

Brethren, I am not able to express how great a Comfort it is to me, to see and hear how this has been entertain'd by all in general; and particularly, by all those that
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are interested therein, who, notwithstanding they must, as we all know, sustain great Damage thereby, have nevertheless, both by Word and Deed, yielded great Conformity to it, saying, That since this Expulsion will be so much for the Service of God, and his Majesty, they did not only reckon their Goods to be well lost, but did further offer their own and their Sons Lives therein. A Resolution worthy of most true Christians, and of most faithful Subjects. Methinks I have seen that which the Apostle, *St. Paul*, writing to the *Hebrews*, praised so much, *Ye have taken, faith he, cheerfully the spoiling of your Goods*, he commends them for two things, which do both deserve great Praise. The first is, the suffering the Loss of their Goods, which is a great Work, but it is yet greater to take it with Cheerfulness, which is not only good, but an heroidal Work, and the Work of an Apostle. To see ones self rich to Day, and poor to Morrow, and to take that with Patience and Cheerfulness for the Service of God and the King, is a mighty Work, and such as deserves to be acknowledged and rewarded. We need not weary our selves to prove this; that Example the holy Spirit has given us, and which is related by three Evangelists, *St. Matthew*, *St. Mark*, and *St. Luke*, will do it abundantly.

Iy. St. Peter, with the freedom of a *Privado*, and *Favourite*, and as superior to the rest of the Apostles, said unto our Lord Christ, *Master, behold we have left all that we had, and followed thee*, how will you pay us for what we have done for you? The Lord answered those that had followed him, and said, that he would do them great Honour, that they should sit with him to judge Men. And, not forgetting others who had, or should at any time leave their Goods for his sake, he saith to all such, *they that have left House, &c.* all the three Evangelists do put *House* in the first place, and the Greek word here, as also the *Hebrew*, in *Psal. 123.* signifies not only a material House, but a Family likewise, and all things belonging to its Support; as Health, Honour, and Goods, and all things else; so that to leave the Support of a Family is an heroical Work, and such as deserves a great Reward. This the Nobility of *Valencia* have done, some losing Vassals, and the Advantages they had by them, others losing their Rents, and all this with Chearfulness, as thorow the Mercy of God we see, and for which I do return infinite Thanks, and do hold my self unworthy to have such Sheep. And whereas they have done this their part, they shall also partake of the Promise which our Lord Christ made to those that have left
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their Goods for the sake of the Gospel, as *St. Matthew* has it; or, who have left their Goods for the Kingdom of Heaven, as *St. Luke* hath it. None of them shall fail to receive *in this Life* much more than they have lost, *and in the time to come Life eternal*. This is what Christ our Lord has promised, who cannot be worse than his word, being not only true, *but Truth it self*, so that we may rest secure of having this Promise fully comply'd with, and that the Benefits will be innumerable, which will follow upon this holy and admirable Work; as will the Honour also, the greatest Honour that is being to live in the Company of Believers; and the greatest Dishonour and Disgrace, to have any thing to do with Infidels, who let them be of what Quality soever, even the Kings, cannot be so much as looked upon, without some Disgrace and Disparagement. So the Prophet *Elijah* told *foram* a wicked King of Israel, *As the Lord liveth, in whose Presence I am, had it not been out of respect to King Jehoshaphat who is a Believer, and the Servant of God, I should not have regarded what you say, nor have seen thy Face, because thou art an Infidel*. Neither would the Prophet so much as salute him, because it would have been a fault to have done it, as it is in us to salute the Enemies of God, who are of the Number of those that do
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not confess our Lord Christ to be true God, which Mahomet did not. And of such the holy Apostle St. John saith, *Receive them not into your House, and say not God speed to them, for they that salute them do in some manner partake of their fact.* What greater Honour can we have in this Kingdom, than to have all that live therein faithful to God and the King, and without any Mixture of Hereticks or Traytors? And of this Honour the Temporal Lords will chiefly partake, who hereafter may be stiled the Lords of faithful Vassals, which they could not be stiled before, but the Lords of Infidel Slaves. And as to the common People, what greater Good can they receive, or what that can be compared to their having the most holy Sacrament reserved in the Church of every Village? What Honour, what Authority, what Comfort, what Ease, what Joy must this yield? This is that which makes Villages, tho never so small, to be most illustrious Cities, and Royal Courts, not of the Kings of the Earth, but of the King of Heaven, this is the only thing that can be esteemed Grandeur. And so the Royal Prophet David, desiring to extol the Eminency and Majesty of *Jerusalem* for its having in it the House of God, which was but the Shadow and Type of our Temples, saith, *Many admirable and glorious things we are able*

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ble to say of thee the City of God. The same and greater beyond comparison can we say of every little Hamlet, where not the Ark of the Testament, and the Urn of *Manna*, but the true and living Body of our Lord abideth.

Ye are all Witnesses of the Incommodity it was to pious People, to go to their Villages where this great Consolation was wanting, which hereafter ye shall enjoy, and be possessed of the greatest Treasure in Heaven, which is the Presence of our Lord Jesus Christ. And ye shall see your Churches which were full of Dragons and wild Beasts, filled with Angels and Seraphims. When this Expulsion is over, I do intend, if God spare me Life, to visit all the Places where the *Moors* lived, and having kissed the Ground of the Churches, to return Thanks to our Lord; for seeing them freed from so great Impurity, as they were defiled with by their treading in them; in conformity whereof I beseech all of you, that have Villages which have been inhabited by *Moriscoes*, or in which they have had any Houses, to make a great Festivity, the greatest you can possibly make on the Day whereon the most Holy Sacrament shall be lodged in your Churches, and to take care to adorn the Holy Altar where it is to be reserved, as much as you can possibly. This
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Care will be very proper for the Ladies and other pious Women, remembring the *Regale* which the two Sisters *Martha* and *Mary* made to our Lord Christ, when he came to 'em weary with having preached, and quite tired with the Infidelity of Men. It is the very same Lord you will now have in your Churches, and that not mortal and passible, but immortal, and impassible. *Regale* him therefore as much as you are able, and be ye tenderly affected with the Sense of the great Mercy he shews you in condescending to dwell among you, after so many and so great Blasphemies and Affronts as have been offered to him in those very places where you will now have him. With this Consideration you may kindle in your Hearts, a Devotion for the most Holy Sacrament, and thereby acquire innumerable Benefits.

I will tell you one thing farther, that some who are much the Servants of our Lord, and are learned too, are of Opinion, That the Reason why our Lord has ordained that this holy Expulsion should begin in this Kingdom, was, that he might reward the Devotion that is in it for the most holy Sacrament, which is greater here than it is in any other part of *Spain*, as is manifest from the Festivities, Processions, Illuminations, and Ceremonies which they perform on its admirable Feast; honouring it as,
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much as humane Poverty and Weakness is able to honour the eternal Son of God, who continues among us, for the remedying of all our Evils spiritual and corporal. Neither is it a thing of small Consideration, that hereafter we shall all be quiet in our Consciences. But I do not care to insist on a Point, on which I have formerly said and writ a great deal, and could say and write much more of. For if the holy Scriptures dictated by the Divine Spirit do command us to abhor the Enemies of God, and if the Royal Prophet said, *That it threw him into a Fever, when he saw those that had transgressed the divine Law*, how shall we be able to answer for our having treated those Hereticks familiarly, esteeming them as Friends, and being in Amity with them, notwithstanding we beheld them performing the Ceremonies of *Mahomet*, and we our selves did acknowledge them to be *Mahometans*, who they had been baptized. Who among us has had the Zeal of *Matthias*, of whom the holy Scripture saith, *That when he beheld one of the People of Israel offering Sacrifice to Idols at the Commandment of the perverse King Antiochus, he was so set on fire by the Zeal of the Lord, that his Bones trembled, and flying upon him that sacrificed, and him that commanded him to do it, he killed them both.* This is the Zeal of a Servant of God, which is
fo

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so acceptable to the divine Majesty, that *Phineas* for the doing the same was commended of God. And *Moses* saith, that tho he was determined to have inflicted a severe Punishment upon the People, he was appeased, and did remit his Wrath, *for the Zeal of Phineas* who killed the Transgressor of the Law of God. My Brethren, we had all need make a general Confession, and I my self ought to do it in the first place, who knowing the Blasphemies of those People, and seeing it with my Eyes, have lived forty Years in Peace with them. And notwithstanding I might plead the example of other learned Prelates, who were much the Servants of our Lord, who have dissembled and gone on with them, nevertheless had I been worthy of the Zeal of our Lord, such Examples would not have sufficed. A general Confession of the Barons, and Lords of Vassals, is likewise necessary, who, tho when I treated with 'em about their Obstinacy, and their observing their Sect openly, used to tell me, that it did not belong to them, but to the Inquisition or the Ordinary, to punish 'em for it; nevertheless it is certain, that if they had had Zeal for the Honour of God, they would never have permitted it. A general Confession is also necessary to all that have trafficked, and have had any dealings with 'em; for had you had a Zeal for

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the Honour of God, and had esteemed it more than your Profit, you would never have been their Friends, but would have abhorred 'em, and fled from 'em. And I beseech all of you that know any thing of the Language of those cursed Creatures to forget it.

I have deferred to speak to what concerns Goods to the last, of which I know some have complain'd, but with the fore-mentioned Moderation. It cannot be deny'd but that at first, until things are well settled, the Rents of the Lords of Vassals will be less than they were, neither will the Rents that were charged on the Villages of the *Moriscoes* amount to so much as they did: but how inconsiderable are these losses, which when compared to the benefits that will result from hence, cannot properly be called a Damage? So they who have sold Copy-holds, or Leases to buy a Mannor, tho their Rents may be lessened thereby, are not said by us to have done any Prejudice to their Estates, but rather to have improved them, as they likewise do, who do abate of their Pension to have them charged on Estates, where they will be more secure. This very thing has now happened; seeing both the Quality of Estates, and the Security of recovering the Rents of them, are to be reckoned beyond

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a greater Rent with a risque of losing it. And whosoever will but truly consider the imminent Danger we were in of losing both our Estates and Lives, while those People lived among us, will reckon himself happy, and to be in a better Condition, by having what remains secured to him. For as wise Solomon has it, *Better is a little with the fear of the Lord, than to have great Treasures with Strife and Fighting.*

Among the Felicities of the Sons of *Israel*, reckoned by the Spirit of God, in the Reign of King Solomon, one was, *That Men lived in safety, sleeping under the shade of their own Vine and Fig-tree, having none to be afraid of.* Thus we shall be in this Kingdom for the future, where thorow the Mercy of God, and the paternal Care of his Majesty, every thing will thrive with us, and the Earth it self will grow more fertile, and will yield the Fruit of Blessing. It is a thing ye all know, that we have not had one Fertile Year since the time that the *Moriscoes* were baptiz'd, whereas now they will all be fertile, the Land having been impoverished, made barren, and poisoned by their Blasphemies and Heresies, or with so many *Sins and Abominations*, as the Royal Prophet *David* hath it. Don't think that this is nothing but a fancy, since the Divine Scriptures do every where affirm, that for Sins, God deprives People

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of Temporal Blessings. Let us but live in the Service of our Lord, and observe his holy Law without wronging our Neighbour, and we shall abound with all good things. Hear what the Lord himself has said, *Obey my Commandments, and keep my Law, and I do promise, you shall live in the Land without fear; and the Land which you possess shall bring forth Fruit in such abundance, that you shall eat and be full; and that without any Fear, but with an entire Rest and Security; and your Harvests shall be so great, that the Reapers shall work until Seed-time, and the makers of Wine shall meet the Sowers, and ye shall build in places which were Deserts, and plant Vines, and drink of the Wine thereof, and sow Gardens, and eat of the Fruit of the Trees you have planted; and ye shall never be turned out of your Houses, saith the Lord.* All this the Lord has promised by his Prophets. I say again, We shall abound with all good things. For he who bestows upon us the Heavenly and Eternal Blessings of Grace, will not, saith the Royal Prophet, deny us Temporal and Earthly Blessings; for which Reason the Man may be called happy, *who trusteth in the Lord.* Let us do so, and be contented with what our Lord shall be pleased to dispense to us, giving him infinite Thanks for this Mercy.

And I a weak and miserable Creature, do humbly supplicate him to give me light, that

I may know how to do it: And tho a great Sinner, I will venture to use the Words spoken by a holy Man, to whom I am like in being old, *O Lord, now let thy Servant depart in Peace according to thy Word*, for now having seen my Desires comply'd with, I am contented to die, whenever our Lord shall be pleas'd to take me, leaving my Churches free from the Impurities wherewith those Hereticks defiled them, and my Flock secure from the Treasons they were machinating; but above all, now that our Lord God will be adored and served, and praised for ever.

The singular Inhumanity of this Archbishop's Spirit, when he was just dropping into his Grave (for he was some Years above Fourscore when he preach'd this Sermon) brings to my Mind the Conceit that a certain Jew had, as he himself told me, of the Persons of all Inquisitors. It was, That tho they appeared to be Men, yet in Reality they were not so, but were Bands of Fiends sent from Hell to assume the Shape of Men, and all that belonged to them, except their Bowels: And accordingly he was positive, that no Inquisitor could possibly be saved; because, said he, they are not capable of repenting of their Inhumanities and Injustices. Tho

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I could not but smile, when he told me in sad earnest, that he did not in the least doubt of the Inquisitors being all literally Fiends incarnate; that extravagant Conceit being visibly the Effect of an extream Aversion created in his Spirit against the Persons of the Inquisitors, by the inhuman Treatment he had met with from them in the Inquisition of *Lisbon*, where he had been divers Years a Prisoner. Yet so far I cannot but agree with him, as to be positive, that a Mind capable of such a settled Wrath and Cruelty, as is to be found in Inquisitors, can have nothing of Heaven, in it; and that nothing but Hell and Popery has ever yet any where been able to inspire Flesh and Blood with a Spirit so inhumane, merciless, and unrelenting, as was the Spirit wherewith this Archbishop had for many Years persecuted the *Moriscoes*, and wherewith he triumphs over them in this Sermon, when they and their Families were under unspeakable Miseries.

But whatever extraordinary Gifts, for his having been the great Instrument of this Expulsion, the *Spaniards* might believe this old Persecutor to have had, they were all soon made sensible, or might have been at least, of his not having had the Gift of Prophecy; when he did, as it were, assure them from Heaven, that a continual Fertility,

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tility, and an extraordinary Encrease of People, Wealth, Honour, and Strength, and an uninterrupted Felicity in all her Affairs, was to be certainly the Reward *Spain* was to receive from Heaven, for an Action so meritorious and well-pleasing to God, as was this General Expulsion: For on the contrary, is it not visible, that ever since the time of that Expulsion *Spain* has grown daily weaker and weaker, poorer and poorer, and more and more desolate; and in all her Wars and publick Negotiations, has been much more unprosperous, than she ever was in any Age before. In a Word, is not the present Condition of *Spain* the perfect Reverse of what she was here promised by this old false Prophet, on purpose to encourage her to do so unwise and impolitick, as well as so unjust and inhumane a thing; which may be a Warning to all Nations, never to be canted into Methods, which must naturally end in their Ruin, upon any Assurances that may be given them by Knaves, or by hot-headed People, of miraculous Deliverances and Advantages on their account.

But now that I am here speaking of the singular Inhumanity that is so visible in the Spirit of Popery in all its own Concerns, I cannot but take notice of one plain Evidence of that Singularity; which is, its pur-

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pursuing all its Enemies beyond the Grave,
 at which the Rage and Malice of other
 Mortals is wont to stop; and that not only
 by its common vile Practice of groundless
 and monstrous Defamations, but by not
 suffering their dead Bodies to be buried,
 no not in common Earth; or if they have
 been privately interred any where by their
 Friends, if they know of it, they are drag-
 ged by them out of their Graves, and
 thrown upon Dunghils, or on other com-
 mon Places, to be eaten by Dogs, or by
 Birds and Beasts of Prey. This is what
 Popery, where ever it is uncontrouled,
France not excepted, does to the dead Bo-
 dies of all Protestants, that die where it
 has Power. So that whether the Pope be
The Antichrist, or not, the Spirit of Popery
 is undeniably an Anti-christian Spirit, in
 being the most merciless, the falsest, and
 most impudent Spirit, Flesh and Blood was
 ever possessed withal; witness the Num-
 berless Inhumanities of the Inquisition, the
 numberless gross Frauds and Forgeries it
 has made use of, and still practises, to propa-
 gate and support it self, and the astonishing
 Effrontry wherewith, in Defiance to the
 clearest Evidences of their being Impo-
 stures, it bears down the World that they
 are indubitable Truths.

Con-

Considering how stupid and dead a Worship Idolatry is in it self; how it should be able among Christians, as well as Heathens, always to inspire all that are devoted to it with a Rage and Fury against all its Enemies, greater than is any where else to be met with, is a thing not easy to be accounted for: The only Cause of it that I can think of, is, the things worshipped by Idolaters, being as subject to be defaced, or any otherwise abused, as are the other things of the same nature: For which reason, they that adore nothing that is subject to such Accidents, cannot in the Way of their Worship, meet with any thing that is so provoking, or that can raise a Fury in them to that Degree, as the abusing of an Image or a Relick enrageth all that adore them. Of this the Inquisitors and Fryars have long been sensible, who whenever they had a Mind to have *Jews* or *Mahometans*, or *Albigenses*, or any of the other Enemies of Image-worship, massacred, (which they have always desired, as often as it could be done with Safety) have always raised, and confidently set about a Story, of their having, to express their inward Contempt for Images or Relicks, or for a consecrated Host, put one or more of them to one vile Use or another: Which Report being believed, no
Death

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Death was, by the enraged Adorers of those Creatures, thought to be bad enough for the Authors of such Profanations, or for all that were of the same Principles in Worship; for could the idolatrous *Ephesians*, if they had been told by *Demetrius* and his Fellow-Craftsmen, that the Apostle had a Design to set the City on Fire, have been thrown into a fiercer Rage than that they were in, upon their having been told by them, of his having spoken some Words to the Disgrace of the Image of *Diana*, which they worshipped with a most profound Veneration: So that until such time as Idols, or Images, or Relicks, or any other bodily Creature that is worshipped, are able to defend themselves from all Insults, or to punish all that have offered them any, their Worshippers will think themselves bound to do it for them, and that with a Rage proportion'd to the profound Veneration they worshipped them withal.



THE

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
WARS
OF THE
Commons
OF
CASTILE,

In the Beginning of the
Reign of *Charles* the Vth.

Compiled chiefly out of Letters written by
Eminent Persons that were engaged in
those Wars.

By MICHAEL GEDDES, LL. D.
Chancellor of the Church of Sarum.

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
WARS
OF THE
Commons



History of Charles the Fifth
of Spain, Emperor of Germany, King of Naples, Sicily, and Archduke of Austria, who reigned from 1519 to 1550. This history is written by a learned and judicious author, and is one of the best of its kind. It contains a full and accurate account of the life and reign of this great monarch, and of the events of his time. The style is clear and elegant, and the facts are well arranged and related. This history is a valuable work, and is well worth reading.

THE
PREFACE.

THE Wars of the Commons of Castile, which broke out in the beginning of the Reign of the Emperor Charles the Vth, tho they are mentioned in all the Histories of those Times, little more is said of them, than that they begun in such a Year; and that the Commons being at last dispersed, and some of their Leaders being put to Death, all things were quieted again.

The Shortness of which Account; considering how great a Revolution this was, and how full of useful Lessons both for Princes and Subjects; I can attribute to nothing, but to the known Partiality of the Spanish Historians for the Honour of their Country; on whose so much boasted of Loyalty to their Princes, these Wars of the Commons were thought to reflect too much, to be transmitted at large by them to Posterity.

When

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When I have said that this History is chiefly taken out of Letters written to Ministers of State by Persons of great Note, and such who were personally engaged in these Wars, I think I have said enough to recommend it to the Curious; who cannot but know, that the Materials of a True History are no where else to be met with so well; and especially in the Case of Civil Wars: In which, as both sides are commonly something in the wrong, so for that Reason the Wisest and Best Men on both sides are always the farthest from a blind Bigottry for the whole of their several Causes. And this Moderation never discovers it self any where so plainly, as in Letters written to Publick Ministers by their Confidants: For tho Publick Ministers may, in such Cases, industriously impose False Relations on others, they themselves must not be abused by such Relations.

This is the Case of most of the Letters, out of which the main of this History was Collected. They were written to the Lord Chancellor of Castile, who was at that time in Germany with the Emperor, by his Great Friend and Confident, the Learned Peter Martyr, an Eye-Witness of these Wars; and One who, though he was very active in them for the Emperor, does every where condemn the Evil

The PREFACE. 225

Evil Counsellors by whom the Commons were provoked to take up Arms, much more than he does the Commons, for having taken them up after having been so highly provoked to it.

Being, soon after this Preface was published, informed by my worthy Friend Mr. James Fraser, who knows Books the best of any Man that I am acquainted with, that a History of these Wars had been written by Sandoval, who was Historiographer to Philip the Third, and of that History's having been translated out of Spanish into English, and published by Mr. James Wadsworth: I desired him, and some other of my Friends in London, if they happened to meet with that History either in Spanish or in English, to be so kind as to help me to the sight of it; which, about two Years after, was sent down to me in English, printed by Dugard in London, in the Year 1652. In their Prefaces to this History, we are told both by Mr. Wadsworth, and by Mr. James Howell, that it had not been long published in Spain, before it was called in and suppressed, and as that might be the reason why I had never heard of that History; so the Reason that is given by both those two Gentlemen, for its Suppression, is the very same that I guessed to have been the Reason, why no such History had ever been written by any Spaniard.

In all the Substantials of these Wars, there is a perfect Agreement betwixt my History of them, and Sandoval's ; but as in mine, there are divers things which are not mentioned by Sandoval, who by all that I can perceive had never seen Peter Martyr's Letters, out of which the main of my History was extracted ; so there being several Successes spoken of at large in Sandoval, of which we have only Hints in those Letters ; to make my History the more perfect, I shall here and there make some Additions to it out of Sandoval, whose Judgment of those Wars, being much the same with that of Peter Martyr, I shall here set it down in his own words.

In the first Section of his Fourth Book, speaking of the Articles and Ordinances sent by the Commons to the Emperor, to have them passed into Laws, Sandoval saith, Let every one judge what reason they, that is, the Junta of the Commons, had ; for my own part I will neither excuse them nor condemn them, but only relate faithfully the Truth, which is as much as can be required of me, doing my Office. And in the First Section of the Fifth Book, speaking of the Commons again, he saith, Tho it hath been the ordinary Defect of other Commonalties to have but slender Forces, this was so powerful, that had there been the least good Conduct amongst them, and

and some experienced Captains, Don Carlos hardly ever would have recovered the Crown of *Spain*. The Common People were to blame, and the Gentry not to be excused, for opposing and rising against the Sovereign's Ministers; yet we must of necessity confess, that they were valiant. 'Tis true, there were divers Exorbitances, Out-rages and Insolencies committed; But what wonder is that amongst a People that had taken up Arms, and laid aside all Reverence for their Superiours? If we see an Army well disciplined, the Souldiers subject and obedient to their Captains, Shall we say absolutely all those in that Army are Traytors? For my own part I would not, neither is it any such great marvel that Children rise up against their own Fathers; for if we look back to some Passages, of our Country of *Spain*, what shall we see but the like unnatural Actions; the Factions of Princes, the Sidings of Grantees and private Gentlemen, who were so audacious, as to rise in Arms against their lawful Kings? and yet they are not so spotted and foul, as some would make those of the latter times appear to be.

**THE
HISTORY
OF THE
WARS
OF THE
Commons
OF
CASTILE,**

**In the Beginning of the
Reign of Charles the Vth.**

DONNA *Isabella*, the Sovereign
Queen of *Castile*, &c. and Wife
of *Ferdinand*, King of *Arragon*,
departing this Life on the 26th of *Novem-*
ber, in the Year 1504, by her Death the
Crown

Crown of *Castile*, and of all the Dominions thereunto belonging, descended to *Donna Joanna*, her eldest Daughter then living, who was married to *Philip* Duke of *Burgundy*, eldest Son of *Maximilian* the Emperor, and Arch-Duke of *Austria*, and at that time was in *Flanders* with her Husband, and her eldest Son *Charles*.

The Deceased Queen being sensible of her Daughter *Donna Joanna's* Weakness, and much displeased with her Son in Law *Philip*, for having been a very unkind Husband, by her Will, made not long before her Death, constituted her own Husband, King *Ferdinand*, Governour of *Castile*, during the time of their Grandson, Prince *Charles's* Minority.

But *Philip*, who was a brisk Prince, coming not long after with his Queen into *Spain*, did, with the Assistance of the *Castilian* Nobles, who were extremely weary of *Ferdinand's* severe Government, oblige his Father-in-law to leave *Castile*, and go to his own Kingdoms. And one thing that made him the more angry with his Father-in-law was, That after he was above sixty Years of Age, he concluded a Marriage with a young beautiful *French* Princess, whose Name was *Germana*, in hopes of having Male-Issue by her to succeed him in the Throne of *Arragon*.

But *Philip*, who had lived apace, dying a few Months after *Ferdinand* had left *Castile*; his Queen, whose Brain was somewhat distemper'd before, did, upon this Loss, sink into so deep a Melancholy, that those which were about her, had much ado to keep her from famishing her self. And, as during the whole time of her Husband's Sicknes, she had never, tho she was big with Child, Day nor Night, stirred from his Bed-side: So having, some Days after he was buried, been told by a Monk, that he had read in some Legend or other, of a King who came to life again after he had been dead fourteen Years, she immediately commanded her Husband's Body to be brought into her Bed-chamber, where, having taken it out of the Coffin, and laid it in a Bed of State with its Face uncover'd, she kept it 20 Years, after which it was taken from her and interr'd in the Cathedral of *Granada*. And when she was awake, she was continually looking upon it, and watching when it would rise.

And as the Queen's Fondness for her Husband (who had little deserv'd it from her) so her Jealousy of him was so much increas'd by his Death, that she would never suffer any Woman but her self to go near his Corps; nor none of that Sex, besides her old Servants and Confidants,
to

to come within the doors of the Room where it lay : And having left *Burgos*, with a Resolution never to see that, nor any other City any more, she travelled in the Night by Torch-light, with her Husband's Corps drawn in a Herse by six *Flanders-Mares*, from one obscure Village to another, until she settled at last at *Tortelas* ; where, in a very mean House, she was delivered of a Daughter, without the help of a Midwife. For as there was no perswading of her to lie in, in any other Room but in that where her Husband's Corps was ; so she would not hear of a Midwife, though never so ancient, being brought into it.

The Breath was not well out of *Philip's* Body, when the *Grandeess* were all to pieces, about the Administration of the Government, during Prince *Charles's* Minority. The Nobles who had appear'd most forward in driving *Ferdinand* out of *Castile*, talked high against his being recalled to be their Governour ; alledging, That if his Government was grievous to the Nobles before, it would be much more so now, after he had been so highly provoked, by their having joined with *Philip* against him. His being married to the Princess *Germana*, in hopes of having Male-Issue by her, was likewise urged as an

unkind thing to the Posterity of their Queen *Isabella*; and which, if he were its Governour, might prove of dangerous consequence to *Castile*.

The Queen, who when she would speak, which was but seldom, did always give very pertinent Answers; being addressed to, to know to whom she would have the Administration of the Government of her Kingdoms committed, is said to have answer'd, *My first born Son, and Heir Charles is too young to administer the Government himself, and Maximilian my Father-in-law, cannot well leave the Empire, and his own Hereditary Dominions; or if he would, he is altogether a Stranger to the Tempers and Customs of my People, which are all perfectly understood by my Father, who has with great Toil and Danger much enlarged my Territories.* But when she was desired, after so wise an extemporary Answer, by a Publick Instrument to constitute her Father Governour of *Castile*, during her Son's Minority, not a Word more was to be had from her; neither would she to her dying Day, ever be perswaded to put her Hand to any Writing, or to give any Reason, why she would not do it; only on other occasions, she would sometimes say, *That it was scandalous for the Widow of a good Husband, to let any thing trouble her Thoughts, but the memory of her great Loss.* Car-

Cardinal Ximenes, Archbishop of Toledo, the wisest and most disinterested Statesman, that Spain, or perhaps any other Kingdom, ever had, at first seemed to agree with the Nobles, to exclude Ferdinand from the Regency; to which his near Relation to the Prince gave him so good a Title; but being sensible that no Man was so fit as Ferdinand to govern Spain at that time, he so managed the Council of State, that he prevailed with them to send to Ferdinand, who was then at Naples, to desire him to come and take upon him the Administration of the Government, during the time of his Daughter's Indisposition, and of his Grandson's Minority. And though the Queen would not be perswaded to give any countenance to his coming, by Writing a Line to invite him; yet being desir'd by his Ambassador at her Court, to order Publick Prayers and Supplications to be made in all the Churches, for his safe Arrival in Castile, she made Answer, *It should be done*; and added, *that she doubted not but that God would both give her Father a prosperous Voyage, and would bless him in the Administration of the Government of her Kingdoms.*

Ferdinand being arrived in Castile, went directly to visit his disconsolate Daughter; and though the place he found her in, was

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extremely incommodious, both for her self, and the Court, he had much ado to perswade her to leave it, to go to *Santa Maria de Campo*, from whence he intended to have moved her to *Burgos*, and to have fix'd her there, so soon as the Castle of that City (which was held out against him, by one *Emanuel*, the great Favourite of King *Philip*) was reduced. But the Queen, when she came to *Arcos*, suspecting that her Father intended to carry her to *Burgos*, would not go a step further; telling him, *That she was resolved never to see the Place any more, wherein she had been so unhappy as to lose the best of Husbands.* And though *Arcos* was a Town of bad Air, and very inconvenient for the Court, it was five Months before he could perswade her to leave it, to go to *Tordesillas*, a pleasant Village, and wherein she had a Palace in the Neighbourhood of *Valedolid*. But having at last prevailed with her to remove, she travelled all the way by Night, with her Horse; stopping still at the first House she met with, tho it was a Cottage, after the Day began to dawn, and remained there till it was dark Night: And when she was desired by her Father, who accompanied her, not to feed her Melancholy by travelling after such a dismal manner; all the Answer he could have, was, *That*
the

the Sun ought never to see a Woman after she was so unfortunate as to be a Widow.

It was happy for Spain that it had *Ferdinand* for its Governour at this time. For besides, that during his 9 Years Regency of *Castile*, he kept it in perfect Peace at home; in that time he obtained for it of the Pope, the Investiture of the Kingdom of *Navar*: By means of which considerable Accession, and the immense Treasures of Gold, Plate and Jewels, which were yearly imported from the *Indies*, Spain was never in so rich and flourishing a Condition, as it was in, at the time of *Ferdinand's* Death; who died at *Madrugall*, on the 23d of *January*, 1516. And by his Death, he having had no Children by his young Queen *Germana*, the Crown of *Arragon* descended to his Daughter, the Queen of *Castile*. Spain, after *Ferdinand's* Death, was wisely governed by Cardinal *Ximenes*, until Prince *Charles*, who was just then of Age, arrived (which was not till 18 Months after his Grandfather's Decease,) This Delay was looked on by the *Spaniards* as a Trick of the *Flemings* to draw Money out of *Castile*; but whether that was so or not, it is certain that *Flanders* has been ever since drawing such Sums of Money from thence, that it had been happy for Spain, never to have had any thing to do with it. Never

Never was any Prince more welcome to a People, than *Charles* was to the *Spaniards* when he first came among them; the great Character had been given of him by all that came from *Flanders*, having made the *Spaniards* expect him with great Impatience, who promis'd themselves all manner of Happiness under the Government of so hopeful a Prince: But *Charles* had not been a Year among them, before he had lost their Hearts to a degree none of his Ancestors had ever done before, through his being absolutely govern'd by his *Flemish* and *French* Ministers; and above all, by the *French* Lord *Philip Crovi de Chevers*, who had been his Governour, and who, tho otherwise a very great Man, was insatiably covetous. He was Duke of *Sora* in the Kingdom of *Naples*, and afterwards Duke of *Arschot* in *Brabant*, and was descended of the Kings of *Hungary*,

The first thing *Charles* did after he Landed, was the Discharging of his Brother *Ferdinand's* Governour, and Præceptor, and all his other *Spanish* Servants, and placing *French* and *Flemings* in their room; which change, as it was heinously taken by the Infante himself, so it was highly resented by the *Spaniards* (to whom *Ferdinand*, who had been bred among them, was very dear) as an Affront put upon their

their Nation. This Order was executed by Cardinal *Ximenes* a few days before he died; by whose Death the Archbishoprick of *Toledo*, which, next to the Papacy, is the richest Dignity in the *Roman Church*, (being commonly reckoned to be worth fourscore thousand *English Pounds per Annum*) becoming vacant, it was begg'd by *Chevers*; who obtain'd a Promise of it from the Prince for his Nephew *William de Croy*, who, tho he was then Bishop of *Cambray*, was but a very young Man: By which strange Promotion, made so soon after the Prince came among them, the *Spaniards* plainly perceived how great both the Power and Impudence of the Northern Ministers were, in having dared, so soon, to lay their Hands on the highest and richest Dignity of the Kingdom.

The Prince, and his Sister *Donna Leonora*, whom he had brought with him from *Flanders*, made no Stay any where until they came to *Tordesillas*, where their Mother was, and where she had been above ten Years, without having once stirred out of the Room where her Husband's Corps lay. She is said to have received her Son and Daughter with great Tenderness, and to have entertained them with some Discourse. Whilst the Prince was with his Mother at *Tordesillas*, his natural Uncle, who was Arch-

Archbishop of *Saragoca*, and who, had the Archbishoprick of *Toledo* became vacant, during the time of his Father *Ferdinand's* Government, was to have had it, came to wait upon him, to congratulate his safe Arrival in *Spain*: But the Prince suspecting that his Business was to beg the Archbishoprick of *Toledo*, commanded him, without having seen him, to leave *Tordesillas*, and to go to *Valedolid*, and to wait there for him; fearing, it is like, that if he had remain'd any time at *Tordesillas*, he might have found some Opportunity to have spoken with the Queen, and to have begg'd it of her. The Archbishop, who was a Man of a great Spirit, so resented this unkind Entertainment, that leaving *Tordesillas* in a Rage, he went directly to *Arragon*, of which Kingdom he had been Viceroy some Years before, and ever since his Father's Death.

A *Cortes* or *Parliament* meeting at *Valedolid*, on the 5th of *February*, 1518. the first thing propos'd to it, was, whether, considering the Queen's Indisposition, the Administration of the Government should not be committed to her eldest Son, Prince *Charles*. But tho this was presently and unanimously agreed to, the second thing propos'd, which was, whether during his Mother's Life he should have the Title of King, or only that of

of Prince Regent, bore a long Debate. However, it was concluded at last, that he should presently have the Title of King, but so, that all Publick Acts should run in both their Names. The usual Oaths of Governing according to Law, and of not infringing or violating any of the Liberties or Privileges of the Subjects, having been taken by the King, the Cortes was moved to give Money to defray the Charges of the Government, which were represented to be very great at that time. But the Commons, before they would part with any Money, insisted on having two old Laws revived: The one was, *That none but Natives of Castile should be capable of any Office or Benefice in it, either in Church or State*: And the second was, *That it should be Death to send Money out of the Kingdoms*. But the Northern Ministers, at whom these two Provisions were levelled, by the Assistance of the Bishop of Badajoz, (who had been the King's Spanish Præceptor in Flanders, and of Garcia Padilla, Commendator of Calatrava) so managed the Cortes, as to prevail with the Majority, both to drop those Provisions, and to grant the Sum that had been demanded, and which is said to have been the greatest that was ever given by any Cortes. And tho this great Donative (for so all the Money that is given by

a *Cortes* is called by the *Castilians*) was not to have been paid in less than three Years; it was, with the Deduction of an high Interest, advanced immediately by the *Italian* Bankers of *Valedolid*; and, as was universally reported, was, as soon as it was received, distributed by the King among his Northern Ministers, and by them sent into *Flanders* in Specie. Several of the great Cities, but above all that of *Toledo*, being very angry with the *Cortes*, for having given the King so great a Sum of Money before he had consented to the reviving of the two fore-mentioned Laws, did, as soon as the *Cortes* was dissolved, send Commissioners to Court to remonstrate against Strangers being preferred, and suffered to send Money out of the Kingdom; offering to prove, that in less than a Year, eleven hundred thousand Ducats had been sent by the Northern Ministers out of *Castile* into *Flanders*.) But the young King being possess'd by those Ministers, that the *Spaniards* were a People not to be governed but with a Rod of Iron, turned a deaf Ear to all such Remonstrances, dismissing the City-Commissioners with Threats, as Persons disaffected to his Government.

Emanuel, King of *Portugal*, having at this time, by his Ambassador, desired *Donna Leonora*, the King's Sister, for his Wife; this

this Proposition was had in detestation by all the *Castilians*: For besides that *Emanuel* had been married to two of her Aunts, and had Children by them both; he was old enough to be her Grandfather. But notwithstanding all the World cried shame at sacrificing so young and beautiful a Princess to *Chevers's* Covetousness (who was known to have received one and twenty thousand Ducats, by order of the *Portugal* Ambassador from a Banker of *Valedolid*.) The Match was concluded, and the Infante sent to *Portugal*, attended by *Chevers's* Lady, who had been her Governess, and who was said to have received a great Reward there, for having perswaded that Princess to so unequal a Match.

Chevers observing the Discontents of the *Castilians* against the Government to run very high, perswaded the King to send his Brother *Ferdinand* to *Flanders*, and to appoint Mr. *Buere*, a *Flemish* Nobleman to attend him, in quality of his Governour. The thing that helped *Buere* to this remote Employment, was, his having called *Chevers* a Traytor to his face, for having ever since he came into Spain, sacrificed all the King's Interests to his own and his Lady's insatiable Avarice.

The King having thus disposed of his Brother, and eldest Sister, had his Posthu-

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mous Sister, *Donha Catherina*, stol'n from her Mother, with whom, ever since she was born, she had been mew'd up in a dark Room. But the Queen, when she came to miss her Daughten, was so discomposed, that she vow'd never to eat or drink till her Child was restor'd to her again; which at the end of two days, the King was forc'd to do, his Mother having during that time neither eat, drunk, nor slept.

The Cardinals Hat the King had obtained of the Pope for *Adrian* a Dutchman, who had been his Præceptor, and to whom *Tortosa*, one of the richest Bishopricks in Spain, had been given, being brought to *Valedolid*; the King and the whole Court were present at the Solemnity of *Adrian's* receiving it. And though *Adrian* was, and deservedly, the best beloved by the Spaniards of all the Northern Ministers, yet the Clergy reckoning that this Hat was, at Rome, plac'd on the Spanish account, they were extremely incens'd to see all their highest Ecclesiastical Dignities thus conferr'd on Strangers: For such they reckoned the Flemings to be, though the King's natural born Subjects.

It was not long before the Clergy let the King know how much they resent'd his having bestow'd the richest and highest Eccle-

Ecclesiastical Dignities on Foreigners. For being assembled presently after by the Cardinal *Adrian*, to settle the Payment of the Tenth of all the Ecclesiastical Benefices and Promotions in *Castile*, which had been given to the King by the Pope, by their Prolocutor they told the Cardinal plainly, That as they were not oblig'd to pay those Tenth, but when *Spain* was actually invaded by Infidels, so since that could not be pretended now, they were resolved not to pay them. Neither did they, tho much urged to it by the Cardinal, and by several Great Lawyers sent to them by the King, who endeavour'd to satisfy them of their being bound to pay those Tenth, they having been granted to the King by the Pope, (who was Lord of all Ecclesiastical Benefices) and being necessary to carry on a War against the *Turks*, who were by Sea as well as by Land growing formidable to all *Christendom*.

The King being settled in the Throne of *Castile*, went next to *Saragoca*, the Metropolis of *Arragon*; where having assembled a *Cortes*, that Assembly was according to Custom, opened by a Speech made to them, by an Officer, call'd, *The Pronotary of the Kingdom*: Wherein he desired the *Cortes*, to take into their Consideration the state of the *Kingdom*, and how the Government was to be

administred, now their Queen was so much indisposed. The discontented Archbishop of Saragoca made answer, That as the Arragoneses had always been faithful to their Princes, so they would now take time to consider of what was fit to be done by them in their present Circumstances. But though he did all that he was able, to have obstructed the King's Business, the Government was settled in the same manner as it was in Castile, and the King took the usual Oath of maintaining to the Arragoneses all their Liberties and Immunities, which at this time were the greatest that were enjoyed by any People under a Monarchy. After this, the Cortes being moved to supply the King with Money, and to do it with expedition, they made answer, That it was not their Custom to give Money before the Grievances of the Kingdom were all redressed, and the Debts owing from the Crown to the Subjects stated, in order to be paid. Upon which two Heads the Cortes spent so much time, that the King having received Advice of the Death of his Grandfather Maximilian, sent a Message to them, to let them know, That if they did not quickly dispatch the Affairs they had in hand, he should be forc'd to leave them undone, being in great haste to go to Germany, to secure the Imperial Crown to himself, and to his Family, in which it had

had been so long ; and that the more, because the *French* King pretended to it, who, if he should gain it, would be a much more dangerous Neighbour to *Spain* than before. Upon which Message, tho the Donative which had been demanded was granted, yet so much of it was appropriated to the Payment of Crown Debts, and other publick Uses, that but little remain'd for the King to dispose of.

From *Saragoca*, where he had met with much Trouble, and but little Money, the King went to *Barcelona*, the Metropolis of *Catalonia*, where he met with less Money and more Trouble ; being detain'd there nine Months before the *Cortes* of that Principality had settled him in the Government, and given the Donative which he had demanded. And when they did give it, they appropriated it so to the Payment of publick Debts, that when they were all discharged, there remain'd but five and twenty Pounds for the King's own Use, who had spent near a Million of *Castilian* Ducats, which are more than *Catalonian* Pounds, among them. And whereas several of those Debts were of a very long standing, the *Catalonians* being ask'd by the Ministers what they meant by reviving such old Debts, made Answer, that perceiving how the *Flemish* and *French* Ministers,

by whom the King was governed, were come into *Spain* as into an Enemy's Country, intending after they had plunder'd it of all they could lay their Hands on, to return with its Spoils to *Flanders*; they judg'd it was time to see those publick Debts discharged, which out of Affection to their former Princes who had lived among them, and had been as Fathers to them, they had let sleep so long. The *Catalonians*, and all the rest of the *Spaniards*, complain'd likewise very much of all Offices being sold by *Chevers* and his Lady, which they said was a Practice had never been heard of before in *Spain*.

Whilst the King was detain'd at *Barcelona*, he received the News of his being chosen Emperor, and was desired by the Envoys sent to him by the Imperial Diet, to make haste to come to them. The *Spaniards* were so far from rejoicing at this News, that they said it was one of the worst things that could have befallen *Spain*, which by this Means would become as a Province to *Germany*, where their King would reside for the most part, to the draining of *Spain* of all its Treasure, to support an high, empty foreign Title. But the young King, who had other Thoughts of it, was in such haste to go to *Germany*, that he put off his Journey to *Valencia*, whither he was to have gone

gone next, sending the Cardinal *Adrian* thither, to acquaint them with the Reason why he did not come to them as he had design'd; and to define them, after the Example of *Castile* and *Arragon*, to settle him in the Throne. But when the Cardinal came with this Commission to *Valencia*, he found that City turned upside down; the Citizens having a few Days before turned all the Nobles save one (who they said was an honest Man) out of the City, and committed the Government of it to the 96 Syndicks or Wardens of the 48 Companies of Tradesmen, to whom the Cardinal addressing himself, and acquainting them with his Business; they told him, That the Constitution of their Government was such, as did not permit them to own the Prince to be their King, before he was declared to be so by a Cortes, and had taken an Oath to govern them according to Law. And when they were told by the Cardinal, that the King had taken that Oath at *Barcelona*, in the Presence of their Commissioners, they reply'd, That would not do, and that they would send Commissioners to the Prince to let him know so much, and to acquaint him with their Reasons why they had turned the Nobles out of their City, whose Tyranny, they said, was grown insupportable to Men that were free born. And

accordingly they dispatch'd a substantial Shoemaker and Carpenter to the King; who waiting on him at *Saragoca*, as he was returning to *Castile* for a fresh Supply of Money, were well received by him, and dismissed with a Promise, that so soon as he returned from *Germany*, he would come and hold a *Cortes* among them, and make such Laws as should secure them from being tyrannized over by the Nobles. And in the mean while he ordered the Vice-chancellor of *Arragon*, and one *Garcias*, an eminent Lawyer, to go to *Valencia*, and examine the Matters in Difference betwixt the Nobles and the Commons, and to make a true Report of them to those he should name to determine them.

The King being in great want of Money when he returned to *Valedolid*, called a new *Cortes*. And to make the *Castilians* sensible of his being highly displeased with them, he appointed that *Cortes* to meet at the *Groin*, a Sea-port Town in the Province of *Galicja*, where as soon as he was supply'd with Money, he design'd to embark for *Flanders*. But upon the *Castilians* remonstrating against the assembling of their *Cortes* in a remote Province, that had not so much as one Vote in it, as the most unreasonable thing that had ever been done by any Prince, he threatned that if they did

did not behave themselves more dutifully, and send such Procurators to the Cortes he had called, as should grant him as much Money as he had Occasion for, he would remove all the Courts of Judicature out of Castile, into that loyal Province. By which strange Acts and Threatnings the Castilians, out of whose Purses the Money given by that Cortes was to come, were so incensed, that they every where said openly, That they were treated by their Flemish King and his Countrymen more like Slaves, than like free-born Subjects. The commanding a Castilian Cortes to meet in Galicia, and the demanding of a new Donative before the time was expired, wherein the former was to have been paid; and the commanding all Cities and Towns to send such Procurators to that remote Cortes, as should grant all the Money that should be demanded of them; and threatening them if they did not, to remove all the Courts of Judicature out of the Kingdom; they said was a Language no Castilian Kings had ever spoken to their Subjects in before, and was indeed to rule them with a Rod of Iron, which one of his Northern Ministers had been heard to say was the only way to govern Spaniards.

The Citizens of Valedolid (who so long as they had the Queen in their Neighbourhood, expected to have both the Court and the

the Cortes, when it met, still in their City) were so enraged by these strange Doings, and several Stories that were grafted upon them by discontented Spirits, that they took up Arms, resolving not to suffer the King to go without their Gates, before he had changed both his Measures and his Counsellors. But the King not being willing to change either the one or the other, taking the Advantage of a tempestuous Night, when the Streets and Gates were thin guarded, got out of Town; and having made his Mother a short Visit at *Tordesillas*, rode Post to *Compostella*, where he thundered out a Proclamation against the City of *Valadolid*, Declaring that City, for the Violence they had offered to his Royal Person, to have forfeited its Charter, and all its Privileges; and commanding all its Markets and Fairs to be kept in other Places. From *Compostella*, having paid his Devotions to the Body of *St. James the Apostle*, the Patron of Spain, he went to the *Groin*, where he was waited upon by *Don Peter de Lasso a vega*, and *Don Alonso Sylva*, who were sent by the City of *Toledo*, to protest against the Assembly call'd by the King at the *Groin*, as no lawful Cortes; as also, to let the King know that his having nominated a Stranger to be their Primate, was against the Laws he had taken an Oath to observe.

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This Message was delivered with that Freedom and Courage, that the King commanded Lasso, *Upon his Allegiance to repair immediately to the Castle of Gibraltar, whereof he was Governour; and Sylva, To go to Naples, and look after his Regiment that was there:* And the Conde de Palma, Governour of Toledo, who had come along with those Commissioners, to acquaint the King with the turbulent Estate of that City, had his Commission taken from him, for not having curb'd the Insolency of that proud Place; which, the King said, *should be taught better Manners than to fly in his Face if they had not their Wills in all things.* Don Peter de Giron, a brisk young Nobleman, waited on the King at the same time, to desire to have Justice done him against the Duke de Medina Sidonia, his Kinsman, who by Force kept from him a great part of his Estate: To which Petition the King returning a rough Answer, Giron clap'd his Hand on the Hilt of his Sword, and swore, That if the King would not, *that should do him Justice;* and the King bidding him go and do his worst, he reply'd, he knew what he had to do, and so withdrew. An Order was likewise sent from Court to Toledo, requiring *Hernando de Avalos, and John de Padilla,* forthwith to make their Appearance at the Groin. But as those two Gentlemen were

were ready to begin their Journey thither, they were stopped by the Populace, (and as it was believed by Concert) who cry'd out with loud Voices, Kill, kill Chevers and the Flemings, that have robb'd Spain, and let *Hernando de Avalos*, and *John de Padilla*, the Fathers and Defenders of this Republick, live, let them live. *Don Pedro de Ayola* and *Gonsalon Gaytan*, who had likewise been commanded to repair to Court, were stopped, and had Guards set upon them to disable them to undertake that Journey.

The *Cortes* being assembled, the *Galicians*, who have no Voice in that Assembly, judging this to be a very proper time to obtain the Privilege of having Procurators in it, the Archbishop of *Compostella*, and divers *Galician* Nobles, went in a Body to the Convent, where the House of Commons sat, and finding the Doors shut, they sent in Word, that they desired to be admitted, having something of great Moment to that Body, to communicate to it. But the Commons, knowing their Business, would not suffer their Doors to be open'd to them; whereupon the Archbishop and the Nobles made a Protestation in the open Street against all that should be done in that or any other *Cortes*, wherein the Province of *Galicia* had not Procurators of their own

own to represent them. The Commissioners of *Toledo*, who had not gone to their Posts the King had commanded them to repair to, made a Protestation likewise against all that should be done in that Assembly, to which their City, not looking upon it as a lawful *Cortes*, had sent no Procurators. And the Procurators of *Salamanca*, having protested against the giving of a new Donative before the Time was expired for the Payment of the former, were expelled the House for adhering to that Protestation. And tho great Numbers of the Procurators, and of the chief Cities, did violently oppose the giving of any Money, the Sum that had been demanded was granted by a Majority, who were said to have been hired by Bribes, and by Promises of Offices made to them by the Bishop of *Badajoz*, and the Commendador of *Calatrava*, who, for such Practices, were every where called *Flemish Tools*; as the Nobles for looking on, and complying with such things, were call'd *Chevers's Journeymen*, who, so they could but have a Share of its Spoils, did not care how much their Country was plunder'd by Foreigners.

The Cities and Towns of *Castile* having been in a great Ferment before, were so enraged when they heard of the *Cortes* having given a new Donative, and of the Me-

Methods it had been procur'd by, that it was visible to every Body, that if a speedy and effectual Course were not taken to prevent it, there would be a general Revolt of all the Commons of the Kingdom, as there was already of the Commons of *Valencia*, who had now chased away their Viceroy, for attempting to recal the expelled Nobles. And, the Citizens of *Toledo* having taken up Arms, when they heard how their Commissioners and Governour had been treated at the *Groin*, and how they themselves had been threatned for the Remonstrances they had made against the King's illegal and arbitrary Proceedings, it was generally believ'd the great Combustion *Spain* was in, would have obliged the King to put off his Voyage, and to have return'd to *Castile*, to do something that might quiet the Minds of the Commons. But the Northern Ministers being afraid to go back themselves, perswaded the King to proceed in his intended Voyage, and that without giving the *Spaniards* so much as a Promise of ever making any Change of those Measures, whereby he had render'd himself and his Government so odious among them. Accordingly on the 22d of May, 1520. he embark'd at the *Groin*, leaving the Cardinal *Adrian* sole Governour of *Castile*, but with so limited an Authority, that that honest Man

Man was said to have no Power, but only to dispose of small Ecclesiastical Preferments as they fell. But when any thing that was considerable was desir'd of him, he us'd to tell the Petitioners, *That if they would have it, they must go to the King in Flanders for it; which, the Spaniards said, was to send them to Chevers to buy it of him.*

When the Commissioners of Toledo returned home from the Groin, they were met and conducted to their Houses by the whole City, with loud Acclamations of their being True Castilians, who, for their Courage and Zeal for their Country, deserv'd to have Statues erected for them, in every City and Town in the Kingdom; And the Citizens, who were all in Arms before, were now form'd into Regiments. The chief Command of the Soldiery being committed to Don John de Padilla, a Nobleman of great Courage, but very young, and of no Experience, who was perswaded by his Lady, Donna Maria Paebeica, Daughter to the Marquis de Mondenar, a Woman of rare Wit, Beauty and Courage, to accept of that Employment.

The City of Toledo having thus put their Militia in order, sent Letters to all the other Cities, and great Towns of Castile, to inform them of the Causes of their having

ving taken up Arms, and to exhort them to associate together, in the defence of their Common Liberties, which were so insolently invaded and trampled upon by Foreigners; and neither to pay the Donative granted by that illegal Assembly at the *Groin*, nor the Excises called *Alcavalas*, which having been given by a *Cortes*, above an hundred Years before, only for eight Years, were still kept up, and were contrary to Law, required as a standing Tribute.

Most of the Cities and great Towns of *Castile*, after the Example, and at the Instance of *Toledo*, taking up Arms, did all enter into an Association, obliging themselves by an Oath to stand by one another, and never to lay down their Arms until their Laws and Liberties were secured to them and their Posterity, and until all that have invaded them, and betray'd their Country, should be brought to condign Punishment, to terrify others from ever making any more such Attempts.

But as none had rendred themselves so universally odious as they, who in the *Gallego Cortes* had given their Voices for a new Donative; so the People having been furnished with a List of all their Names, murdered 'em where-ever they met with 'em, and in all places, did either burn or pull

pull down their Houses. So the People of *Segovia*, understanding that *Tordesillas*, who had been one of their Procurators in that *Cortes*, and had voted for a Donative, was returned home, went to his House, and meeting with him, asked him, What news he had brought from the *Groin*? *Tordesillas*, who was a haughty Man, answering, *That he had something else to do, than to give an Account of what was done in a Cortes to a Rabble*; they immediately laid hands on him, and after having dragged him by the heels through all the Streets of the City, they hang'd him upon the Common Gibbet, and that with so great a Rage, that they would not suffer a Fryar, who begg'd it of them upon his Knees, to Confess and Absolve him; crying out, *That none but the Hangman could Absolve Rogues that had betray'd their Country*. A grave Man likewise that was standing by, was hanged up with him, only for having muttered, *That this was both Impious and Barbarous*; as was also a Publick Notary, who was found in a Corner, writing down the Names of the Ring-leaders of that Tumult.

At *Burgos* likewise, the People pulled down the Houses, and burnt all the Furniture of two of their Procurators, whose Names were *Mota*, and *Jefferys*, for having voted a Donative. But *Jefferys*, who came

to *Burgos* not long after, in Company with the *French Ambassador*, having threatned, as he was going out of the *Gates* with the same Minister to *Tordesillas*, that when he returned to *Burgos*, *He would have his House rebuilt with the Skulls and Bones of the Rascals who had pulled it down*; was pursued until he was forc'd to take Sanctuary in a Church two Miles out of Town. And notwithstanding all that the *French Ambassador* could plead in his behalf, as being of his Retinue, and all that the Priests could say to them against violating the Sanctuary of their Church, they dragg'd him from the High Altar, crying out, *That a Rogue that had betray'd his Country, ought not to have the Benefit of any of its Sanctuaries*. And having carried him back to *Burgos*, beating him all the way most unmercifully, they hang'd him upon the Common Gibbet, bidding him, *Go and build his House with their Skulls*.

At *Zamora* the People were kept from pulling down the Houses of their Procurators, who had made their escape, by their Bishop *Don Antony d' Acuna*, a Prelate of great Knowledge and Courage, and who in this War was one of the Commons Chief Captains, as well as Counsellors; he had been Dean of the Chappel to Queen *Isabella*, and her Ambassador in *France*,
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and was in her Favour so much, that had Toledo become vacant in her latter Years, it was generally believ'd she would have conferr'd that Archbishoprick upon him. And though this Bishop and the Prior of *Complutum*, were the only great Prelates that declared themselves openly to be on the side of the Commons, most of the rest were, in the beginning of these Troubles, Well-wishers to them; that single Act of the King's, making a Foreigner, and one who was very young too, Archbishop of Toledo, having contributed more to this Civil War, than all the other Male-Administrations put together. And so zealous were most of the Priests and Fryars for the Commons, that they canoniz'd their Cause, Christening their Supreme Council, *The Santa Junta*; neither was there for their Number, a Body of Men in the Commons whole Army, to be compared for Zeal and Courage, to the Troop consisting of four hundred Priests, that was raised and Officer'd by the Bishop of Zamora. And though few of the Nobles did ever join with the Commons, yet they were all so far Well-wishers to the main of their Cause, that none of them acted vigorously against them, until they were forc'd out of that Neutrality, by the Commons threatening the Nobles, if they did not join with

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them, with a Resumption of all the Crown Lands.

The Associated Cities and Towns having all agreed to lodge the Supreme Government and Direction of all Publick Affairs, in an Assembly made up of the same Members with a *Cortes*; and having appointed the City of *Abula* to be the place where that Assembly was to meet and sit; Procurators were accordingly chosen by all the associated Corporations, and were sent to *Abula* in the same Numbers, but with much larger Powers than they used to be sent to a *Cortes*. The Cardinal Governour, dreading the ill Effects of such a great Assembly, did all that was in his Power to have diverted the Commons from calling it, offering them if they would not do it, both a Pardon for all that was past, and a Redress of all their true Grievances; of which he affirm'd, That the greatest Patriot in *Castile*, was neither more sensible, nor more desirous to have 'em all remedy'd than he was. And when the *Junta* was assembled, he dispatched Commissioners to them with the same Propositions, offering if they would lay down their Arms, to procure for them all that they had desired when they first took them up.

But the *Junta*, which from its birth is said to have design'd to carry things much farther

farther than the Commons had looked when they first revolted, sent the Cardinal word, That though they had a very great Honour for his Person, and did not in the least doubt of his being a Friend and Well-wisher to the Castilians and their Liberties; nevertheless, since their Laws did not allow any that was a Foreigner to be their Governour, they were oblig'd to command and require him, being a Foreigner, not to stile himself, or act any longer as Governour of Castile; offering him at the same time, not only their Protection, but their Favour, if he would either come and live among them, or live any where else in Castile, as a private Person. And as to the Pardon he had offered, they said, They were not sensible of their ever having done any thing to make them stand in need of one; and that as they had been forc'd to have recourse to Arms, having no other way left to recover and preserve their oppress'd Laws and Liberties, so whenever they were sufficiently secured to them and their Posterity, they should be ready to lay them down, and after the Example of their Ancestors, in the quiet Enjoyment of the same Rights and Privileges, to continue his Majesty's most obedient and faithful Subjects. And to satisfy all the World, as well as the Cardinal, of the Justice of their Arms, the Junta set forth a Manifesto, containing the Reasons of their ha-

ving had recourse to them, and the Terms whereon they should be ready to lay them down again. In all which, they pretended to desire nothing that was new, or that was not agreeable to the Laws and Customs, which the King at his first coming to the Crown, had taken an Oath to maintain. The chief things required by the Commons in this *Manifesto*, were :

- I. That the King shall reside and keep all his Courts in Castile ; or if he shall at any time have occasion to be absent, it shall not be lawful for him to appoint any that are not Natives of the Kingdom to be its Governors.
- II. That none but Natives shall be capable of any Office or Benefice, either in Church or State.
- III. That the King shall not marry, but with the consent of his Cortes.
- IV. That no Foreigners shall be naturalized.
- V. That the Procurators shall be paid for their attendance on the Cortes, by the Corporations they serve for.
- VI. That it shall not be lawful for the King to give any Office or Salary to any of the Procurators of the Cortes, or to name their President, nor to send Letters that are not open to any of the Procurators.
- VII.

- VII. That a Cortes shall be assembled once in three Years at least, and shall sit and consult about the publick Affairs of the Kingdom.
- VIII. That there shall be no free Quarters, either for Soldiers, or for any of the King's Servants, for above six Days, and that only when Soldiers are upon a March, and the Court in a Progress: After the Expiration of which six Days, the chief Magistrates of the Place where they are, shall appoint how much they shall pay for their Quarters.
- IX. That the Rewards which have been given or promised to any of the Members of the late Assembly at the Groin shall be all revoked.
- X. That the Excises shall be reduced to the state they were in at the Death of Queen Isabella.
- XI. That all that has been given from the Crown since that Queen's Death shall be resumed.
- XII. That all new Officers erected in the King's Household, since that Queen's Death, shall be dissolved.
- XIII. That none shall hold two Offices in the King's Household.
- XIV. That all Privileges which have been at any time granted to the Nobles to the Prejudice of the Commons, shall be revoked.
- XV.

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- XV. That the Government of Cities and Towns shall not be put into the Hands of any of the Nobles.
- XVI. That no chief Magistrate of any City or Town shall receive any Salary from any Nobleman.
- XVII. That the Lands of the Nobles shall pay to all publick Taxes, equally with those of the Commons.
- XVIII. That no Gold, Silver or Jewels shall, upon Pain of Death, be sent out of the Kingdom.
- XIX. That it shall not be lawful for the King to give away any Money before it has been paid into the Treasury.
- XX. That no Corrigidor of any City or Town shall continue in that Office above a Year, unless the People of the Place do petition to have him continued in it.
- XXI. That the Corrigidors shall be paid their Salaries out of the Treasury, and not out of the Forfeitures of People who have been condemned by them.
- XXII. That the Goods of Persons accused shall not be given to any before they are convicted and condemned.
- XXIII. That whosoever shall presume to execute any Office after they are convicted of having bought it, shall be punished with Death.
- XXIV.

XXIV. That if any of the King's Officers are convicted of having done any Wrong to the Subject, they shall not only be turned out of their Places for it, but shall be for ever render'd incapable of all publick Employments.

XXV. That none shall be compelled to purchase Papal Indulgences, and that all the Money arising from such Indulgences shall be employed against the Infidels, and all Pensions granted upon it shall be revoked.

XXVI. That the late Breve subjecting the Ecclesiasticks in several Cases to the King, shall be abolished.

XXVII. That Prelates who do not reside with their Flocks six Months in a Year, shall lose all their Profits, during the time they are absent.

XXVIII. That the Custom-house for Indian Goods shall never be removed from the Place where it is at present.

XXIX. That neither Sheep nor Wool shall be suffer'd to go out of the Kingdom.

XXX. That the Queen shall be allow'd a Royal Maintenance.

The Junta, (which was now ador'd and obey'd every where almost) that they might not seem to have laid their Flemish King aside, as well as his Dutch Governour, by having never, since they took up Arms,
made

made any manner of Application to him, nam'd Commissioners to go and wait upon him in *Germany*, who having laid all their Grievances before him, were order'd to let him know, That if he would remove and punish those evil Counsellors, who had been the Authors of all the late male-Administrations, and would call a free Cortes, and therein give his Royal Assent to all the fore-mentioned Provisions, (which being all agreeable to the Laws and Customs he had taken an Oath to maintain, they said, he could not in Justice deny to his Commons) they would then not only lay down their Arms, which they had, contrary to their Inclinations, been forc'd to have Recourse to, but would become Examples of Fidelity and Obedience to his Person and Government, to all his other Subjects. They were ordered likewise to endeavour to satisfy the King, That by granting to the Commons all that they desired, his Crown would be enriched; and his Power and Authority, by lessening of that of the Nobles, would be much encreased.

With these Injunctions the Junta's Commissioners, of whom Father Paul de Leon, a zealous Dominican Fryar, was the first, pass'd thorough *France*, in order to have waited upon the King in *Germany*. But having, before they were got out of the French Territories, receiv'd Intelligence from
some

some Friends they had in the Court, that there was an Order from the Emperor, To apprehend and make them all close Prisoners as soon as they set Foot on German Ground; they all return'd home, full of furious Exclamations against the Northern Ministers, whom they called the King's Governours, inflaming their Country-men, where-ever they came, by assuring them, That nothing but their Swords could ever open a way for their Grievances to the King's Ear thorough those Brigades of Harpys that were about him.

This Treatment of their Commissioners was highly resented by the Junta, as a thing that had no President in Castile, none of their Kings having ever before deny'd the hearing to the Complaints of any private Subject that address'd themselves to them, and much less to the whole Body of the Commons of the Kingdom, waiting upon them with a Representation of publick Grievances; and so despairing of ever being able to obtain any Relief from the King, they resolv'd to apply themselves to the Queen, and if they found her in her Senses, (which she was universally reported to be in) to perswade her to come abroad, and take the Government of the Kingdoms upon her self, which, upon a false Supposition of her not being capable of managing it, had by a

Cortes

Cortes been rashly committed to her Son, by whom, and his Northern Ministers, the *Castilian* Laws and Liberties had been so trampled upon, that the Commons had been forc'd to have Recourse to Arms, to preserve them from being utterly destroy'd.

The Cardinal, who hitherto had used no Violence with the Commons, (besides the having strangled an *Austin* Fryar, for preaching up the *Junta*, and the Justice of its Cause, with great Vehemence in the City of *Palencia*) being unwilling to begin the shedding of Blood in a Military way, when he came to be acquainted with this Design of the *Junta's*, resolved to hinder its Execution, by entring upon Action. And having been inform'd, that *Segovia* was but weakly fortify'd, and had no strong Garrison in it, he order'd one *Ronquelos*, who was both a Corrigidor and an experienc'd Commander, to march with a Body of Veterane Troops, and surprize that City, which was one of the most mutinous in the whole Kingdom; but having to that end sent to *Medina Campi*, where the King's Stores of War were kept, for some Canon and Ammunition, the Inhabitants, who had made themselves Masters of all the Magazines, sent him Word, *That they would blow up the Magazines, and themselves with them,*
sooner

sooner than furnish Canon and Ammunition to destroy their Country men for standing in Defence of their common Liberties: Which Repulse, though it mortify'd the Cardinal extremely, did not divert him from prosecuting his Design on Segovia, toward which, Ronquelos march'd in great haste; and tho he fought and defeated a Body of the Commons much superiour to him in Number, which had rashly attempted to have stop'd him in his March, he had not well invested that City, when he was glad to draw off his Men, and retreat with great Precipitation to Valedolid, upon having receiv'd Intelligence, that Padilla was advancing towards him with an Army to force him to a Battle, for which he was no ways prepar'd.

The Cardinal's first hostile Enterprize having thus miscarried; his second was, to recover, if it were possible, the King's Magazines in Medina, before the Junta had put a Garrison into that Place, which he reckon'd, now he had begun to commit Hostilities upon them, they would do speedily; and accordingly he commanded Don Anthony de Fonseca, General of all the King's Forces in Castile, to draw together all the Troops he could, and whatever it cost him, to make himself Master of those Magazines.

Fonseca,

Fonseca, when he came before *Medina*, having receiv'd the same Answer to a Summons he had sent to the Magistrates by a Trumpeter, as was given by them before to the Cardinal, began to thunder upon them with his Canon and with Granadoes, designing so soon as he had made a Breach in their Walls, which were not very strong, to have assaulted them. But a Granado or Canon Bullet happening to fall into the Magazine where all the Powder lay, set Fire to it, and blowing it up, laid not only the Magazines, but all the Buildings in the Town in Rubbish, under which most of the Inhabitants that were not upon the Walls, were smother'd and buried. *Fonseca*, upon this dreadful Blow, summon'd them a second time, for the Sake of the Canon, which were all the Stores that were left unconsum'd, to surrender upon Discretion; which the Inhabitants refusing to do, he assaulted them on all sides, but the Defendants being put into a perfect Fury by the lamentable Destruction of their Town, maintain'd their Walls and Gates so well, that *Fonseca*, after having made several Attacks, in which he lost a great many of his best Men, was obliged to retreat, leaving the unhappy Inhabitants Masters of the great Heap of Rubbish he had made.

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The News of the Desolation of *Medina* enraged the whole Kingdom almost to Madness; for besides that it was a large and well built Town, the Merchants Goods which had been lodg'd in the *Franciscan Convent* against the approaching great Fair, and which were all burnt, were valued at three hundred thousand Ducats. The *Junta* so resented this great Loss, that they proclaim'd *Fonseca* an *Incendiary*, and a publick Enemy to his Country; commanding all People, where-ever he came, to treat him as such: And the Cardinal, to throw the Odium of an Action which had put the whole Kingdom into so great a Flame, off from the King and himself, wholly upon *Fonseca*, did by a Proclamation declare solemnly, That *Fonseca* had no Order from him either to fire Canon upon, or throw any Granadoes into *Medina*; and that for having done it, to the utter Destruction both of that Town, and of his Majesty's Magazines, he had not only taken his Commission from him, but did further declare him for ever incapable of any publick Employment, leaving him to the Vengeance of the Law for what he had done.

The People of *Valedolid*, who by the Cardinals residing with them, and restoring to them their Charter, and all their former Privileges, and promising not to require
the

the new Donative, had till this time been kept from associating with the Commons, did now break loose, and having taken up Arms, they declared, *That they would look on no longer to see their Country destroyed, for asserting its Rights and just Liberties.* And not being satisfy'd with what the Cardinal had done to *Fonseca*, they set Fire to a noble and richly furnish'd House he had in their City, lamenting that they had not its Owner to have burnt him in it. From burning of *Fonseca's* House, they went to the House of *Don Francisco Serna*, who had been active for the Court in the late Assembly at the *Groin*, which they pull'd down, and burnt all its Furniture; as they did also the House of one *Portelli*, a rich Italian Banker, for having not long before given a Project in to the Lords of the Treasury, how the Revenue of the Excises might be advanced.

At *Burgos*, the People had murder'd their Bishop, who was Brother to *Fonseca*, for having drop'd some Words in *Fonseca's* Vindication, had he not escap'd out of Town before his Palace was beset by them. And tho they spared his Palace, they vented their Fury on all they found in it that belong'd to him, bringing all his Goods out, and burning them before his Gates. And at *Medina*, one *Cornelius Nepos* was stabb'd by

Badilla,

Badilla, a Shearer of Cloath, only for having said, *That had they let the Cardinal have the Canon he sent for, Medina had not been in Ruins.* One *Vera* also a Bookseller was torn in Pieces by the People, only for saying, *That he saw no Reason why the King should not have had his own Canon when he sent for them.* And upon a Report that *Fonseca*, who did not know where to hide his Head, was coming to abscond himself in the Queen's Court in *Tordesillas*, the People told the Marquess of *Denia*, the Queen's Keeper, *That if that Incendiary dared to come within their Walls, he should find no Sanctuary among them, no not in the Queen's own Bed-chamber.*

The Cardinal, now that *Valedolid*, where he had all along resided, had joined with, and sent Procurators to the Junta, apprehending that that Assembly would execute their Design of setting up the Queen, offered to them, *If they would promise to let all things remain in the same state they were then in, until he returned again, to go in Person to Germany, to represent all their Grievances to the King in such a manner, that he did not doubt of prevailing with him to redress them, and remove all those Ministers from about him, who had been the Authors of them.* But the Junta, which did not doubt of the Cardinal's having all along solicited

the King by Letters to do that which he now offer'd to go in Person to *Germany* to perswade him to, desired the Cardinal to let them see the Answers he had from time to time received from the Court to the true and free Representations he had made, because by that they should be better able to judge what would be the Success of his waiting upon the King in Person; and upon the Cardinal's desiring to be excused for not making the Answers he had received from the Court publick, the *Junta* concluded those Answers to be so unsatisfactory, that the Cardinal durst not publish them for fear of making things more desperate. So they thanked the Cardinal for his good Will, and told him, that they had Reason to believe, that his going in Person to *Germany* would have no other Effect than his true and honest Remonstrances had had, and that it was a vain thing for him or them ever to hope for Redress of any of their Grievances, whilst the King was entirely in the Hands of those who had been the Authors of them all, and whom the Commons insisted on having removed from Court, and punished.

The *Junta* having thus answered the Cardinal, whom they commanded a second time not to stile himself, or to act any longer as Governour of the Kingdom, dispatch'd

patch'd Don John de Padilla, the Darling of the Commons, with a Guard of two hundred Horse, to wait upon the Queen, and to perswade her, if it was possible, to come abroad, and take the Government of the Kingdoms upon her self. When Padilla arriv'd at Tordesillas, he was received with a wonderful Joy by all the People; and having obtain'd Leave from the Marquess of Denja to wait upon her Majesty, after he had kiss'd her Hand, he acquainted her at large with all the Male-Administrations and Tyrannies of her Son, and his Northern Ministers, by whom he was absolutely governed, and who, he said, treated the *Castilians* more like Slaves than like free born Subjects, and did either sell all Offices and Benefices, both in Church and State, or give them to their own Relations; and how the Commons of *Castile*, having in vain petition'd to have those evil Counsellors removed, and their insupportable Grievances redressed, had been forc'd to have Recourse to their Arms, to preserve those ancient Laws and Liberties, which had been before always peaceably enjoy'd by their Ancestors, under her Majesty's Royal Progenitors: And at last he conjur'd her, as she had any Love for her Country, and the good People of *Castile*, who were so dear to her blessed Mother, to come abroad,

and take upon her self the Government of her Kingdoms, which would otherwise be absolutely ruined.

The Queen, to whom all that *Padilla* had told her was News, having heard him with great attention, made answer, *That so long as she lived her good People of Castile should not be oppress'd.* But when she was desired by *Padilla* to come abroad, and make a publick Declaration of her having taken upon her self the Government of her Kingdoms, which he said was the only way whereby she could preserve them from being ruined, she would not speak a word more, though *Padilla* upon his Knees urged her most passionately to promise to make such a Declaration, and to let her loving Subjects see her abroad, which he said, was the thing in the World they desired the most.

There being in *Sandovall*, a much fuller account of what pass'd betwixt the Queen and the *Junta*, than there is in *Peter Martyr's* Letters; I shall insert that Account here, because *Sandovall* saith he had it from one that was an Eye-witness of all those Passages, and who neither was a Commoner, nor a Friend to the Commons: In the twenty third Section of his third Book, he saith; 'After *John Padilla* had rested himself a while, he went to the Palace where the Queen
'received

'received him very graciously; and having
 'given him an Audience, she asked him,
 'Who he was? He answered, That his
 'Name was *John de Padilla*, and was Son
 'to *Pedro Lopez de Padilla*, who had been
 'Captain General in *Castile*, and served the
 'renowned Queen *Donna Isabella* her Mother,
 'and that he came to tender his Service to
 'her Majesty, with that of the People of
 '*Toledo*. That he must give her to under-
 'stand, that since the Decease of the Ca-
 'tholick King her Father, there had been,
 'and were in that Kingdom great Disor-
 'ders, Mischiefs and Dissentions for want
 'of a Governour, and that although the
 'mighty *Don Carlos* her Son had go-
 'verned *Spain*, yet by reason of his sudden
 'Departure the Kingdom was in such Com-
 'motions and Disorders, that all *Spain* was
 'ready to be destroyed; he was come for
 'that reason with an Army of *Toledians*
 'to serve her Highness, whom he desired
 'to see, and to know what Commands she
 'had to lay upon him; for he was ready
 'to spend his Life in her Service. The
 Queen was much astonished to hear such
 things, and said, she never knew any thing
 of it before, for she had been sixteen Years
 shut up in a Chamber, under the Guard of
 the Marquess of *Denia*, and wondred to hear
 such Stories; but if she had known of her

Father's Death she would have gone abroad, and found some Remedies to those Mischiefs. Then she saith to *John de Padilla*, Go now, I command you, take the Charge and execute the Office of Captain General in the Kingdom, and give you order for all things as need shall require, until I provide otherwise. This said, she retired to her Chamber, and *John de Padilla* returned to his Quarters, well attended and very jocund for the Favour the Queen had done him, in giving him that Commission. Many times after this *John de Padilla* had Conference with the Queen, and she seemed to give Audience to him and others of the *Junta* very willingly. They told her once that the King her Son had done great damage to the Kingdom; whereunto she answered, That her Son was not greatly in fault, for he was but a Youth, but the Kingdom rather ought to be condemned for suffering it; then she commanded that the Assembly of the Kingdom should be kept there, and said that she would authorize it.

The *Junta* being altogether in the Queen's Presence, gave her to understand by the Mouth of Dr. *Zuniga* of *Salamanca* the Grievances of the Kingdom, it having been pill'd and polled by Strangers, since her Father's Death; and out of the Sense of their Oppression they desired that her High-

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ness would be pleased to take upon her the Command and Government of the Kingdom, making high Protestations that they would obey and serve her till Death, as their Queen and natural Sovereign, and that she should command as absolutely as the most powerful Queen in the World; whereunto she answered to this Effect: ' That she loved that Country and her Subjects with so much tenderness, that it grieved her exceedingly to hear of any of their ' Sufferings; but she had been long mewed ' up there, and had always bad People ' about her, who had fed her with Fal- ' sities and Lies, insomuch that she knew not ' of her Father's Death, nor of their Op- ' pression; and that when she was infor- ' med of those Strangers coming into *Castile* ' it troubled her very much, yet she ' thought it might be for her Childrens Good, ' tho it seems it proved otherwise; but she ' wondered much at them, that they did ' not revenge themselves, if any thing ' was done contrary to Justice; and foras- ' much, said she, that you intend to reme- ' dy the ill Government of the Affairs of the ' Kingdom, it doth rejoyce me; and if you ' do it not, let it lie upon your own Con- ' sciences: Besides, I command you so to do, ' and as far as lieth in my Power I shall be rea- ' dy to do any thing here or wheresoever I am.

‘ You need not come all to me hereafter, it
 ‘ will be more convenient that you appoint
 ‘ four of the discreetest and most knowing
 ‘ amongst you, who shall at any time have ac-
 ‘ cess to me, and inform me what course is
 ‘ meetest to be taken ; I will hear them, and
 ‘ do all that possibly I can. Then *Don Pe-
 dro Lasso* desired that her Highness would
 be pleased to nominate the four Members
 whom she would have to confer with her
 concerning the Government of the King-
 dom ; she answered, ‘ That her Will was,
 ‘ That the *Junta* should send whom they
 ‘ thought good, and she would hear them
 ‘ whensoever they came.

This Writing signed by 3 Notaries in the
 Presence of the Infanta *Donna Catalina*, all
 the Commissioners of the Kingdom, divers
 eminent Priests and Fryars, and many other
 Persons of Quality, satisfied exceedingly the
 Common People, who cry’d it up for a kind
 of Miracle, that the Queen, after so many
 Years of Retirement, in so strict a manner,
 that scarce any Body could have the sight of
 her, and so long discontinuance from any
 Knowledge of State-Affairs, should now
 come forth, and shew her self in a time of
 so great Necessity, with so much Know-
 ledge and clear Judgment in things concern-
 ing the Government of the Kingdom.
 They praised God for shewing his Mercy
 in

in so high a Measure unto *Spain*. Yet some there were who did not stick to say, that all those Circumstances were false and forged by those of the *Junta*; that the Queen had no Judgment to meddle with any such Affairs, neither was she in a condition to be treated with. This was commonly noised, not only in *Valedolia*, but divers other Places also. *Pedro Mexia* treating of this Business, seemeth in his Book to favour this opinion. I write what I had from one that was an Eye-witness of all those Passages, and who neither was a Commoner nor Friend of that Faction. Thus far *Sandovall*.

But however this might be upon what the Queen had said, *Padilla* reported to the *Junta*, that upon the Representation he had made to her of the great Miseries of *Castile*, she had promised to resume the Government, and to rule them according to their ancient Laws and Customs; upon which Report the *Junta* removed from *Abula* to *Villabaxim*, a Town in the Neighbourhood of *Tordesillas*; from whence, after a few Days, they went all in a Body to wait upon the Queen, with a Petition to her in the Name of all the Commons of *Castile*, to come abroad and take upon her self the Government of her Kingdoms, which would otherwise be ruined: The Queen made

made Answer, *That so soon as her Health would permit it, she would do all that her good People had desired of her.* But when she was importun'd to signify so much presently by a Proclamation, and to take her own time to go abroad, she entreated the *Junta*, to have a little Patience, without saying a Word more to them.

But tho the Queen her self would not do it, the *Junta*, upon the Promise she had made them, set forth a Proclamation; declaring, that her Majesty had resolved, out of the tender Love she had for *Castile*, and the good People thereof, to take upon her self the Government, and after the Example of all her Royal Progenitors, to govern her Subjects according to the ancient Laws, and not to suffer them to be any longer tyranniz'd over by Strangers.

Never was any thing receiv'd with a greater or more universal Joy than this News was all over the Kingdom of *Castile*, in which for several Days nothing was heard, but *Long may our Castilian Queen live, and may foreign Counsellors perish.* And as the next Night after the Queen's having assum'd the Government was celebrated at *Tordesillas*, *Valedolid*, and all the neighbouring Places with Illuminations and Fireworks; so it was celebrated in like manner, in all parts of the Kingdom, as soon as they

they had the News of it. And to give the Queen some Diversion, a Tilt on Horseback was performed by several young Noblemen under the Windows of her Apartment; the Queen standing in a Balcony to see it, and seeming to be well pleased both with the Exercise, and the loud Acclamations of the People, who had flock'd together to see her.

Upon the Queen's having been thus diverted, the *Junta* conceived Hopes that she might be perfectly cured of her Melancholy, and to that end they dismiss'd her Keeper, and all the other Officers that were about her, that were suspected to be in her Son's Interest, putting *Don Alonso Quintinilla* and his Lady, in the Room of the Marquess of *Denia* and his Marchioness; and believing that a living Husband might be a proper Means to cure her of her distemper'd Fondness for her dead Husband's Body, they released *Don Ferdinand*, a Prince of the House of *Naples* out of his Prison, in which he had been kept several Years, with an Intention of marrying him to the Queen. But that Prince, we are not told for what Reason, having quickly left the Commons, by whom he had been made Governour of *Valedolid*, and made himself a Prisoner again, this great Design came to nothing. The *Junta* being, it is like, afraid that they might

might have disoblig'd their Queen, had they gone about to have perswaded her to marry one of her Subjects.

It had been happy for the Commons if they had never taken any Notice of this distemper'd Princess. For she relaps'd soon after into her former Melancholy, (to which the removing of all her old Servants might probably contribute) But the *Junta's* contriving to set her on the Throne, was the Cause of the first Disunion that had appeared in that Body: For tho the desiring the Queen to take the Government upon her self had been carried in the *Junta* by a great Majority, yet its being violently opposed by several of the Procurators of some of the chief Cities, and particularly by those of *Burgos*, made such a Rent in that Assembly, as was never well cemented. For, besides that, that great City was much influenced by the Constable of *Castile*, who lived in it, it was very much disoblig'd by the *Junta's* having given the first Place in a *Cortes* to the Procurators of *Toledo*, to which *Burgos* had always pretended: And that Controversy betwixt those two great Cities, tho it was of a very long standing, no *Cortes* had ever taken upon it to decide.

The Cardinal, who was extremely troubled at the *Junta's* having got the Queen

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in their keeping, and at the great Joy the News of her having promised to come abroad, and take the Government into her own Hands, had been entertain'd with all over the Kingdom, dispatch'd the Bishops of St. *Lucar* and of *Oveido*, who were both reckon'd to be Well-wishers to the Commons, to *Tordesillas*, to which Place the *Junta* was come, with some new Propositions.

But tho the *Junta* would not receive those two popular Prelates, as Deputies sent to them by the Governour of the Kingdom, they gave them an Audience as Messengers sent to them by the Cardinal; and having consider'd the Propositions which they brought, they desired them to let the Cardinal know, that tho the Commons of *Castile* did not doubt of his being a true Friend to them and their Liberties, yet they had no Reason to think, that he had Interest enough in the King to be able to do them any Service.

A few Days after, four Persons of Quality were by the *Junta* dispatch'd to *Valedolid*, to command the Cardinal, in the Name of the Queen, and of all the Commons of *Castile*, not to presume to call himself, or to act any longer as Governour of the Kingdom; and to command the Council of State to come with all its Books and Officers, to *Tordesillas*, where their Sovereign Queen kept

kept her Court. The Persons in this Commission were, *Don John de Padilla*, General of the Forces of *Toledo*, *Don Francis Bravo*, General of the Forces of *Segovia*, *Don Alonso Aguila*, General of the Forces of *Abula*, and *Don John Zapata*, General of the Forces of *Madrid*; and they had for their Speaker, *Father Alonso Medina*, an eloquent *Dominican Fryar*,

These Commissioners were received by the People of *Valedolid*, with all the Expressions of a great Joy; and being admitted into the Council of State, which was assembled by the Cardinal at their Request, and at which the Cardinal himself was present; the first thing they desired, was that *Father de Medina* might be heard; which being granted, that Fryar, in a long tragical Harangue, laid before the Council the great Miseries the Kingdom groaned under, and the Causes of all those Miseries; and having extolled the Holy *Junta*, as he call'd it, to the Skies, as an Assembly of the wisest Men and best Patriots, that had ever been before in *Castile*; he earnestly exhorted the Council, as they desired to prevent the Ruin of their Country, to join themselves to the *Junta*, which had no other Aims, but the Security of the publick Liberty, and the Preservation of the Rights of the Subject: All which, he said,

said, should the Commons, now they had taken up Arms to assert them, be conquer'd by the King and his Court, would be eternally lost; and *Castile*, of the most renowned, would become the most contemptible and miserable Kingdom in the World. After the Fryar had done speaking, the Commissioners deliver'd their Message, and commanded the Cardinal and Council of State to yield Obedience to it, upon Pain of the Queen's and Commons high Displeasure.

The Cardinal, after having complain'd of the *Junta's* slighting all the kind and sincere Offers he had made them of his Service, and reprimanded Father *Medina* severely, for having left his Cell, to turn a *Trumpeter of Sedition*; desired the Commissioners to let the *Junta* know, That being the King's natural born Subject, he was no Foreigner in the Eye of the Law of *Castile*; and that as he had never been in a Correspondence with any that were Enemies to the Liberties of the Subject, so he was resolv'd never to enter into any such Correspondence. After the Cardinal had done speaking, the President of the Council told the Commissioners, That the Cardinal having been appointed by the King Governour of the Kingdom, during the time of his Absence, it was not lawful for them to assemble any where
without

without his Order. The Commissioners answer'd, *The Junta will be obeyed*; and so left the Council, and went strait to the Town-house, where the Magistrates of the City had been order'd to attend them: Who, having been harrangu'd by Fryar Medina, and told, among other things, *That if they did not execute the Commands of the Holy Junta on the Cardinal, and the Council of State, they would pull down the Vengeance of Heaven and of the whole Kingdom upon their Heads*, promised to see the *Junta* obey'd in that, and in every thing else, so far as they had Power to serve it. And they were as good as their Word, for after this, they did not only hinder the Cardinal from appearing and acting as Governour of the Kingdom, but confin'd him to his House, obliging all the Privy-Councillors they could meet with, to go with their Officers to *Tordesillas*. The Cardinal, who had been twice taken, and brought back to his House, as he was attempting to have got away, understanding that Dr. *Olmedilla* and Dr. *Benardino*, two famous Lawyers, who had always been suspected of being Friends to the Commons, were going of their own Accord to *Tordesillas*, sent to speak with them before they went; and when they waited upon him, he told them, that since they would go to the *Junta*, he would have them let
that

that Assembly know, that if they would promise to let things continue as they were until he returned, he would go to *Germany*, as the Solicitor of the Commons of *Castile*, with their King; from whom, if he were with him in Person, he did not question to obtain as much for them as they could in Reason desire of him. The Lawyers did not only promise to acquaint the *Junta* with this Proposition, but said they would use their utmost Endeavour to persuade them to accept of it; which, when they were at *Tordesillas*, they were so far from doing, that instead of telling the *Junta*, that the Cardinal desired to go to *Germany*, to serve the Commons, they told them, that he desired to have leave to come to them at *Tordesillas*, to confer with them; to which the *Junta* agreed, but upon four Conditions.

The *First* was, That he should not assume the Title, nor use any of the Ensigns of Governour of the Kingdom.

The *Second* was, That he should not come with any Guards.

The *Third* was, That he should go strait to the Lodgings which should be provided for him, and not go abroad without the *Junta's* Leave.

And the *Last* was, That he should send no Letters to the King, nor to any other Person, without having first shewed them to the *Junta*.

Don Peter Giron, who was a great Friend of the Cardinal's, was sent by the *Junta* to wait upon him to *Tordesillas*, if he would agree to those Conditions. But the Cardinal, when *Giron* had acquainted him with the Business, deny'd that he had ever said any thing to those Lawyers, about having Leave to go to the *Junta* : And being vehemently urged by *Giron*, to go to them however, he alledging, That he would be able to do both the King and the whole Kingdom great Service by it ; he reply'd, That unless he were carried to the *Junta* by Force, he was resolv'd never to go to the Place where they sat upon any Terms, and much less upon the dishonourable Terms which they had been pleas'd to prescribe. So he continued under Confinement at *Valedolid*, until he received Advice of *Don Henrique Henriquez*, the Admiral of *Castile*, being march'd into the Kingdom with an Army he had drawn out of the Garrisons of *Arragon* and *Catalonia*. After which, stealing out of the City by Night, attended only by one Servant, he fled to *Riofeco*, a Castle belonging to the Admiral ; where he had not been long, before the

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Biscainers, whose barren Country is their only Grievance, sent him some Troops for his Guards, with an offer of more to reduce the Commons of *Castile* to Obedience.

The Island of *Gervis*, which is one of the *Syrtes*, having at this time been taken from the *Spaniards* by the *Turks*, the Garrison that was in that Island, when it was landed in *Spain*, was courted by both sides to join with them. And *Giron* being employed therein by the *Junta*, acquitted himself of well, by gaining with his own Money most of those Souldiers to declare for the Commons, that he was for that Service declared Generalissimo of all their Forces, to the great discontent of the Souldiery, and of all the Commons, who could not endure that any one, and much less *Giron*, of whose Fidelity they were still jealous, should be set over *Padilla*; who was commonly called by them the *Hannibal* of his Age: and who, if the Populace could have had their Wills, had been proclaimed King of *Castile*; as he was by the Vicar of *Mediana*, a Town in the Neighbourhood of *Abula*, who exhorted his Auditors to say three *Ave Marys* with a most profound Devotion; one for the Holy *Junta*, That God would prosper it: A second for his Majesty, *Don John de Padilla*: And a third, for her Majesty, *Donna Maria de Padilla*, That God would prolong their

Days: And when he observed the Congregation appear'd astonish'd at what he had said; he told them boldly, *That they who aimed at nothing but the Publick Good, were fit to be Sovereigns, and not they who oppress the People, and went about to rob them of their Liberties.*

The first thing *Giron*, after he was made Generalissimo, was ordered by the *Junta* to do, was to sack *Alhagio*, a Castle belonging to *Fonseca*, in revenge for his having burnt *Medina Campi*. But that Castle being well-fortified and manned, *Giron*, after having assaulted it several times, and lost a great many Men before it, was obliged to give it over: Which ill Success in his first Enterprize, did very much increase the suspicion the Commons had of his Fidelity to them, by reason of his being nearly related to the Admiral, and most of the *Grandeas*, which they looked on as their most dangerous Enemies. But the *Junta* being satisfy'd by *Giron*, of his having done all that he was able, to have executed their Orders, continued him in that high Post, until he gave them their Deaths Blow; but whether thorow Treachery, or only thorow ill Conduct, is not known certainly.

Don Tnigo de Velasco, Constable of *Castile*, having still appeared extremely discontented with the Court, had been suffered to live

live quietly in his House in *Burgos*, until now, that it was discovered, that in the beginning of the Troubles, he had perswaded a Messenger that had been sent by that City to the Province of *Marindatis*, to invite them to enter into the Association, not to go, and that he had kept him conceal'd in his House ever since: The Rumour of which Discovery, having raised the Populace, they surrounded the Constable's House, threatening to set fire to it, if their treacherous Messenger were not immediately brought forth to them. At first the Constable deny'd that there was ever any such Person in his House, and gave the People leave to search it all over for him; and when he found that would not do, he offered to deliver their Messenger, if they would promise only to spare his Life. But being told, that they would not make any such Promise, but would burn him with their Messenger in his House, if he did not immediately bring him forth. The poor Wretch was put into their hands, and was forthwith hanged upon the Constable's Gates, on which they threatned to hang the Constable himself too, if he did not immediately leave *Burgos*. The Constable promised to obey them, and before Night he removed with his whole Family to his Country House

in the Neighbourhood of that City ; where having lived privately till the heat of the Populace was asswaged, he entered into a Treaty with the Magistrates, offering, if they would promise not to commit any Act of Hostility until they could have an Answer from the Court, to join with the Commons, in case the King deny'd to give his Assent to the following Provisions being passed into Laws.

1. *That none but Natives of Castile should be capable of any Office or Benefice in it, either in Church or State.*
 2. *That it should be death to carry Money out of the Kingdom.*
 3. *That there should be no such thing as Free Quarter.*
 4. *That the Excises should be reduced to what they were anciently.*
- Lastly, *That it shall not be lawful for the King to lay any new Taxes upon the Subject, unless they be given by a free Cortes.*

Whether the Constable was in earnest in this Treaty, or only designed to amuse the Commons, and to gain time till the Army he had sent for out of Navar was come up to him ; upon the Magistrates of Burgos having agreed to it, he put two of his Sons as Hostages into their hands. And after that,

that, he prevailed with them to order their Procurators, in the *Junta*, to labour to perswade that Assembly to come to the same Agreement, and to threaten to leave them if they did not, or if they talked any more of depriving the King of the Authority and Title which had been conferred on him, by the *Cortes* of the Kingdom.

The Cities of *Zamora* and *Soria*, having come to an Agreement with the Nobles in their Neighbourhood, upon the same Articles, sent the same Orders to their Procurators; to which Articles the *Junta* having absolutely refused to agree, so as not to act any longer in the Queen's, without the King's Name, a great heat and disunion was caused by it. But these separate Treaties, and seeds of Dissention, the *Junta*, had it been as hot in Execution, as it was in Council, might very easily have prevented. For, if upon the burning of *Medina Campi*, by which the whole Kingdom was put into a Flame, they had but removed the Queen to *Toledo*, and had secured the Cardinal, the Constable, the Conde of *Beneventum*, and a few more of the Grantees in the same City, they had never been troubled with these Divisions, nor in all probability had ever been destroyed by any *Spanish* Army. But from making such bold, but necessary steps, the *Junta* was

hundred, partly by the hopes they were still in of gaining the Nobles to joyn with 'em, but chiefly by the feeble Fear of making their Case desperate, which, considering what they had already done, was certainly a great weakness in them.

The King, who had not seem'd to regard the Remonstrances which had been made to him by the Cardinal, and others, concerning the Dangers his Crown was in, in *Castile*, when he heard of the *Junta's* having got his Mother into their hands, and of its being given out, and universally believed that she was perfectly in her Senses, and had promised to take the Government of the Kingdom upon her self, he was very much alarm'd, and judging it to be absolutely necessary for him to do something to quiet the minds of the *Castilians*, and to give them hopes of having all their Grievances redressed, he appointed the Constable, and Admiral of *Castile*, in Conjunction with the Cardinal, Governours of the Kingdom, and promised to return speedily to *Castile*, and to call a *Cortes*, and therein to grant his good People all that they could in reason desire of him.

But when this Commission arrived, and was opened, as the Constable and Admiral did both declare that they would not accept of it, because it did not give them
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Power sufficient to accommodate Matters with the Commons, so the *Junta* declared it to be void, for two Reasons;

1. Because it made the Cardinal, who was a Foreigner, one of their Governours.

2. Because it had been signed out of the Kingdom, which, they said, such a Commission ought not to be.

But at this time a Letter of the Cardinal's to the King was intercepted, and made publick by the *Junta*, which, as it encreased their former good Opinion of the Cardinal, so it confirm'd 'em in their Despair of ever obtaining any Redress of their Grievances from the Court. In which Letter the Cardinal told the King, with a Dutch Freedom, That all the Miseries of *Castile* had flow'd from his own Side, and that as often as he considered how great the Evils were which that Kingdom had been brought under by his Covetous and Tyrannical Ministers, and how he had left the *Castilians*, without giving them any Hopes of seeing those Evils ever remedied, he knew not well how to condemn the Commons, seeing their Case so desperate, for having had Recourse to Arms: He told the King farther, That he must not hope ever to see a good End put to the present

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Disturbances, until *Castile* found it self governed by its King, and according to its Laws, and not according to the Wills and Passions of covetous and arbitrary Ministers: And that the King might not trust too much to the Power and good Affection of the Nobles, he assur'd him, that they were no less discontented than the Commons, with the Government of his Ministers; the *Conde of Beneventum* having told him plainly, that if the King did not satisfy the Commons, by granting them all their just Demands, he was resolved to join with them; and for the Admiral, that he had said openly, That the Sparks in *Germany*, who had no Honours and Estates in *Castile* to lose, and who, after they had enraged the Commons almost to Madness, were got out of their Reach, must not think, that they who had both to lose, and were in the Jaws of the enraged Commons, would not take some Course to preserve themselves, and their Families; and that he had said farther, That he would join with the Commons, to help them to a Redress of their known great Grievances. In the Conclusion, he told the King, that if he did not remove all those Ministers that had oppress'd and provok'd the *Castilians* so highly, and did not govern the *Castilians* with more Wisdom and Moderation, they would

would certainly lay both him and his Ministers aside, at least, whilst his Mother liv'd, who in one great Point was said by the *Castilians*, *To be wiser than her Son*; which was, that none could perswade her to part with any thing, whereas her Son knew not how to deny any thing to the Harpies he was govern'd by.

The Commons made great Use of this Letter to justify their having taken up Arms; as they did also of a new Project of the Northern Ministers, which had fallen into their Hands, how the Revenues of the Crown might be so encreas'd, that the King should never have any Occasion to call a *Cortes* for Money.

The Admiral advancing with his Army near to *Rioseco*, left it there, and without having seen the Cardinal, went, attended only by his Menial Servants, to *Tordesillas*; where finding the Gates shut against him, he sent a Servant to desire Leave to come in, having an Affair of great Moment to communicate to the *Junta*, and which he was certain would be acceptable to them.

But the *Junta* knowing the Admiral to be a crafty Man, sent him out Word, *That if he had any thing to communicate to them, he might do it by Writing*. The Admiral then desir'd, *That his Kinsman Giron might*
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be sent out to hear what he had to offer. But he being left by the Junta to his Liberty, to go out to the Admiral or stay, sent him Word, That the Post he was in would not suffer him to wait upon him, knowing very well, that if he had gone out to him, he should have increas'd the Jealousies the Commons had of him already.

But tho the Admiral was much displeas'd with the Junta, for denying to hear what he had to offer to them, yet being met, when he was come near to *Rioseca*, by the Cardinal, with all the Troops he had got about him, he cry'd out to the Soldiers, *You must turn your Arms against the Moors, and not against the Commons of Castile, who are our own Flesh and Blood, and must not be reduced to Obedience by Force, but by a Redress of all their true Grievances.* And so zealous did the Admiral appear to have these Com-motions ended in that manner, that he went within a few Days a second time to *Tordesillas*, attended only by his own Do-mesticks, where finding the Gates shut a-gain, he desired the Junta, if they would not suffer him to come in, to send out some Deputies to hear what he had to offer; which having been done, the Admiral de-livered the following Articles to the Depu-ties, offering, if the Commons would be sa-tisfy'd with them, to join with them until the

the King should give his Assent to their being pass'd into Laws.

The Articles were,

- I. That none that are not Natives of Castile, shall be capable of any Office or Benefice in it, either in Church or State.
 - II. That it should not be lawful to send Money out of the Kingdom.
 - III. That the Excises shall be reduced to what they were formerly.
 - IV. That the Authority of the Alcaides of the Court shall be retrenched.
 - V. That the great Expences of the Court shall be lessened.
 - VI. That sumptuary Laws shall be made.
 - VII. That no Wool shall be exported.
- Lastly, That all the Commodities of the Kingdom shall be exported on Homebuilt Bottoms.

The Articles having been perused by the Deputies, the Admiral ask'd them, What they thought of them? They told him, They had no Power to conclude or treat, but only to report to the Junta what should be offer'd. He then desired to know, whether they believed the Junta would be satisfy'd with them; they answered, They did not think they would; and being asked why, they said, Because they had

had rejected better Articles, offered to them by the Procurators of Burgos, from the Constable. However, they promised to make a true Report to the Junta of all that he had said and offered; which having been done, the Junta sent the Admiral out Word, That tho all that he had offer'd was good, yet it fell so much short of what the Commons insisted on, and with good Reason, that they could not, without betraying the Trust reposed in them by the Commons of Castile, be satisfy'd with so little, and did therefore refer him to the Manifesto, which had been published by them, of the Things the Commons insisted on having granted; entreating him, as he loved his Country, to join with them upon those Terms. This Answer so incensed the Admiral, that being return'd to Rio-seco, he took upon him the Title of one of the Governours of the Kingdom; and having called a Council the next Day, he declared in it, That the Commons were so high and unreasonable in their Demands, that nothing was to be thought of but fighting it out with them. And accordingly all that were in Arms, under the Name of the Communities of Castile, and all their Counsellors and Abettors, were, by Sound of Trumpet, commanded to lay down their Arms, and to dissolve all their Junta's and Councils, upon Pain of High-Treason; offering them

Pardon for all that was past, if they did so immediately. Which Proclamation was so far from striking any Terror into the *Junta*, that they answer'd it with another, which they commanded to be read in all the Markets of *Castile*; wherein they declared all, of whatsoever Degree or Quality, that should by Force of Arms, or by any other way oppose the *Commons* of *Castile*, in the asserting of their Rights and just Liberties, and in their Endeavours to remove evil Counsellors, and bring them to condign Punishment, to be Traytors to their Sovereign Queen and their Country, commanding all People to look on them, and treat them as such, upon Pain of Death.

The Admiral, who did not expect to have had his Proclamation so briskly answer'd, was sorry for what he had done; and being sensible that the *Commons*, at that time, were very strong as well as high, he resumed the Thoughts of amusing them by Treaties until the *Navar* Army were got into *Castile*; and so having added some new *Articles* to those which he had formerly offered, he sent them to *Villabraxim*, where the Army of the *Commons* had their Head Quarters, by Fryar *Antony de Guevara*, who at that time was much cry'd up by the *Commons* for the Freedom he had used with
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the Ministers and the Nobles, in some Sermons which he had lately preached at *Riofeco*.

Fryar *Antony*, who was a vain self-conceited Man, imagining that nothing was able to withstand the Force of his Oratory, gladly accepted of this Employment; but having gone five times betwixt *Riofeco* and *Villabraxim*, without being able to obtain an Audience, he grew angry, and was so clamorous, that the *Junta* thought fit to appoint some Deputies to hear what he had to offer; who having called Fryar *Antony* before them, he begun an Harangue, which lasted above half an Hour, in which he wished that the Deputies had heard the Sermons which had been lately preached by him before the Governours and the Nobles that were at *Riofeco*; and of which, because they had not been so happy as to hear them, he gave them some Account, and particularly of the bold and free Expressions which he had used; and after having told them how roughly he had treated the Nobles, he took the *Junta* to task, and represented all their Designs and Actions in the blackest Colours his hot Head could furnish his fluent Tongue withal, and without sparing to reflect severely on several of the Deputies that were present, as Ring-leaders of Sedition, and Enemies to Peace.

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When the *Fryar* had done his Declamation, which was much more like the Speech of a *Terræfilius*, than of a Mediator, the Commissioners demanded a Copy of it, together with the Propositions he was ready to make; both which he delivered to them in Writing, and assured them in the King's and the Governour's, and, which was more, in his own Name, that they should all be faithfully observed to them, if they were accepted by the *Junta*; which, having had the Propositions and Declamation sent to them, judged, that the Propositions having nothing new in them that was material, should have no Answer returned to them; but for the Declamation, they commanded the Bishop of *Zamora*, who was one of the Deputies, To give it the Answer that it deserved, and so dismiss the saucy Fryar, commanding him, not to presume to come any more to Villabraxim, or to any other Place which had declared it self for the Commons.

The Deputies having ordered Fryar Antony to appear before them, the Bishop of Zamora gave him the following Repri-
mand.

Fryar Anthony de Guevara,

THE Declamation you made here the other Day, was long, silly, and sawcy. For I must tell you, that you prated to us like a Boy that neither understood what he said, nor what he would be at. You must certainly either have taken the Habit of a Fryar upon you when you were very young, or you must be one of strong Passions and a weak Judgment, or else you could never have imagined, that by such a Declamation, you should have been able to have perswaded us to accept of what you had to offer. I have been told, that you were one of a free and bold Tongue: and so long as you exercised that Faculty on the Nobles, you were reckoned to have some Judgment as well as Zeal. But tho they bore with you when you lashed them as they deserved, there is not the same Reason that we should suffer you to rail at us as you did the other Day. And I must tell you, that it was happy for you, that none of our Captains were present when you did it; for if they had, they would certainly have made that sawcy and impudent Declamation your last: for which, tho we should have been very sorry,

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we should not have known how to have helped it. However, since a Fryar in his Cell may possibly not be sensible of what this poor Kingdom has suffered thorough the Covetousness and Tyranny of foreign Counsellors, we will judge charitably of your Intentions, tho we cannot but condemn the Folly and Sawciness of your Words; and for the future, when you speak to Persons of Gravity and Authority, you must learn to observe the Rules of Decency and good Manners; and when you would perswade People to any thing, you must use soft Words, and not such as provoke and exasperate. Go therefore in God's Name, and do not you come among us any more. For if you do, you will be treated as a Spy. And for those you call the Governours, you may tell them, that tho they may have Power to promise, it does not appear that they have Power to perform.

But tho Fryar *Antony* did not succeed in his publick Negotiation, yet, if he may be believed, he did in his private Negotiation with *Giron*, who, he saith, was engag'd by him to betray the *Junta*. But as it is not probable that *Giron* did ever betray his Party, so if he did, it was by Persons of higher Quality and better Conduct that he was perswaded to it, and particularly, the Admiral's Lady, who was his near Kinswoman; and who, after Fryar *Antony's* Negotiation

tiation was at an end, went several times to *Tordesillas*, when *Giron* was there, to promote a Conjunction of the Nobles with the Commons, for whom and for their Cause that Lady pretended to have an extraordinary Zeal.

But whoever it was that perswaded *Giron* to betray the Commons, if he ever did it, it is certain, that the *Junta*, in Order to remove the Governours farther from the Queen and their Head-Quarters, did, by *Giron's* Advice, command their Army, which had been quartered about *Tordesillas*, to march, and make themselves Masters of *Villa Panda*; by which Means they hoped to be able so to hinder Provisions from going to *Riofeco*, that the Governours would be forc'd to leave it. But *Villa Panda* was no sooner invested by their Army, than the Admiral was before the Gates of *Tordesillas*, with a Body of three thousand disciplin'd Foot and seven hundred Horse; and having, in the King's Name, summoned the *Junta* to surrender the Town to him, upon their denying to do it, he assaulted it on all Sides at once, and in a few Hours carry'd it by Storm, but with the Loss of a great part of his Men. For the People, but above all the Priests and Fryars, defended the Place until their Ammunition was all spent; and one Priest was particularly observed

served to have given eleven Men their *Viaticum* with his Musket from behind the Battlements of the Wall: Neither would they after that capitulate, but defended their Walls to the very last with Sword in Hand. The Admiral, though he carry'd the Place by Assault, gave Quarter, and most of the Procurators of the *Junta* falling into his Hands, he made them close Prisoners, giving the Plunder of the Town to his ill paid Soldiers.

When the Admiral first appeared before the Town, the Queen was desired by the *Junta* to go upon the Walls, and command him, upon Pain of High-Treason, not to attack a Place where she was in Person; which she not only refused to do, but commanded them to go and open the Gates to him, saying, *The Nobles had never been Traytors to the Crown of Castile.*

Since I shall hereafter have no Occasion to speak of this distemper'd Queen, I shall here acquaint the Reader, that she lived near 50 Years in this melancholy Retirement; and towards the latter End of her Life, (which ended in the Year 1555.) she grew outrageous. By several of her Son *Charles the Vth's* Actions, when he was in the Monastery of *St. Juste*, I am inclin'd to think, that in the resigning of all his Crowns, and retiring to a Convent, there was a

Spice of his Mother's Melancholy, which he found coming upon him. I shall here relate some of those Actions, as they are recorded in his Life, written by *Sandovall*, his great Admirer, and leave it to the Reader to judge of their Merits.

The Emperor had one Day a Mind to ride in the Walks of the Garden of the Monastery; but having mounted an Hackney, tho he was but law, he had not gone four Steps before he cry'd out to be taken down, for that his Head swimm'd so that he was not able to sit his Horse any longer.

- His Bed-Chamber in the Monastery being placed so, that he could lie a Bed (as he did commonly) and hear Mass, and all the other Church Offices in the Quire; and he being a great Lover of Musick, and well skilled in it, the best Voices of the Order were brought from all Parts into the Quire of the Monastery. Among the rest, one that was a famous Counter-Tenor was brought from *Placentia*; but the Emperor disliked his Voice or Skill so much, that the first time he sang in the Quire, he dispatch'd one of his Bed-Chamber in great Haste to the Prior, to let him know, *That he must not suffer that Man to sing any more in his Chappel.* And he was often over-heard saying to himself when any did

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did not sing true, *That red-hair'd Son of a Whore is out.*

One *Guerrero*, who was Master of Musick in the Church of *Sevil*, having presented the Emperor with a new Set of Church-Musick, the Emperor commanded one of his Masses to be forthwith sung in the Chappel, which being ended, he called his Confessor, and said to him, *What a Son of a Whore and tunning Thief is this Guerrero; such a Pass he has stole from one, and such a Pass from another, naming them.*

About eight Days before he died, he called a *Fleming* to him (of which Nation all his Servants were that attended him in the Monastery) and said to him, *Nicholas, Dost thou know what I am thinking of? No, Sir, said Nicholas, how can I tell that? I'll tell thee then, said the Emperor, I am thinking of the 2000 Crowns which I have hoarded up, and that they shall be all forthwith laid out in Funeral Honours for me. Your Majesty, reply'd Nicholas, need take no Care of that, for whenever you die we will see to have those Solemnities performed for you. What a Fool are you, Nicholas, said the Emperor; for is it not the same thing to have a lighted Candle carried before or behind?*

(Not to relate the Dialogues he had with his *Flemish* Cook, Baker and Gardener, and with a Boy he saw out of his Window

beating Walnuts off a Tree that was near.)

As he left *Valedolid* to go to his Monastery amidst a terrible Tempest, notwithstanding all that his Daughter (who at that time, and during his whole Life was Governess of *Spain*) or his two Sisters could say to dissuade him from it ; so during all the time he was in the Monastery, not one of them did ever go to visit him, nor sent any Message to him, that we read of, which they might have done, if they had thought it fit, without having interrupted his Devotion so much as it was interrupted by his Dialogues with his *Flemish* Servants ; besides the Benefits they might have received from his Example and good Instructions. It is true, in the Monastery a large Codicil was added to his Will, which he had made in *Flanders* ; but as that was a thing in which all that were about him were concern'd in Interest to have done, so had his Son, King *Philip*, believ'd him not to have been *Compos Mentis* all the time he was in the Convent, he could not have disregarded all that was contain'd in that long Codicil more than he did. But this by the way.

When the News of this terrible Blow reached *Villa Panda*, the Army, which had made themselves Masters of that Place without any Loss, was ready to have mutiny'd, and it was in every Body's Mouth,

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that they had been betray'd by *Giron*, and had been drawn by him from about *Tordesillas* on purpose to give the Admiral an opportunity to surprize it; and *Giron* fearing, that if he staid any longer with the Army, he might be torn in pieces by the Soldiers, stole out of *Villa Panda* by Night, and tho when he was mist next Morning, every Body concluded that he was gone to the Admiral to receive the Reward of his Treachery, he never went near him, but fled directly to a remote Castle, where he lived privately till the Wars were ended: And tho after that, his Life was spared, he was banished, for the whole Term of it, into *Africk*: So that if he did betray his Party, abating the twelve extraordinary Privileges, which Fryar *Anthony*, in a consolatory Letter to him, told him, were annexed to the Happinefs of a Person of Quality, being banished his native Country, he was but ill rewarded for that Service.

The Procurators of the *Junta*, who had escaped falling into the Admiral's hands, fled to *Valedolid*, from whence they dispatcht a Currier to their Army, commanding it to come to 'em with all possible Expedition. The Army did so, having left a strong Garrison in their dear-bought *Villa Panda*, which, now the Governours had left

left *Rioseco*, and were removed to *Tordesillas*, was of little use to the Commons. And *Padilla* fearing lest the Admiral might have followed his Blow, and have attacked *Valledolid*, threw himself into that City, with the Recruits he had raised at *Toledo*, in order to have formed a Flying Camp.

Now seeing it would have required time to have filled up the *Junta* with new Procurators, a select Number was presently chosen by the Heads of the Commons, to have the Supreme Government in all Publick Affairs, with the Title of a *Council of State*. And as this New Council, finding the Queen in the hands of the Nobles, never made use of her Name, but in conjunction with her Son's, according to the Constitution of the *Cortes*, so from its very Birth it pretended to have an extraordinary Zeal for the King's Person, and the Support of his Royal Dignity, giving out, that if the King would but grant the Commons their just Demands, they would make him the Greatest and Richest Prince that ever wore the Crown of *Castile*, by a Resumption of all the Crown Lands, which were in the Possession of the Nobles. And so confident were the Commons that the Court would bite at this great Bait, that it was in every Body's Mouth, that yet before Harvest, the Nobles would be all sent a begging,

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and that without being injured, seeing all their Estates had been given to their Ancestors by weak Princes, to whom they had been worthless Favourites, and not on account of any Services, which had ever been done by them, either to the Crown, or to their Country: Insomuch, that the Commons now seem'd quite to have dropt their Quarrel with the Northern Ministers, to fall the heavier upon the Nobles, and after this, no Grievance was so much insisted on, as the whole Charge of the Government being thrown upon the Commons, by the Nobles having robb'd the Crown of all its ancient Lands and Revenues; which intolerable Burden the Commons declared they would not bear any longer.

But to whatsoever this great and sudden Change in the Commons owed its Birth, whether only to the great Indignation they had conceived against the Nobles, for having taken the Queen out of their Hands; or to a Design of terrifying the Nobles into a Conjunction with them; or to their having entertained some hopes, that they might have gain'd the King and his Ministers by the Tender of so great a Donative, as that of all the Alienated Crown-Lands and Revenues, or to the Persons whereof this new Council consisted, being better

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better affected to Monarchy, than the leading Men in the *Junta*, who were strongly suspected of having had a design to form *Castile* into a Commonwealth ; certain it is, that after this new Council was erected, the Nobles having robb'd the Crown of all its Lands, was made the chief and standing Grievance of the Kingdom ; and the Publick Evil, which of all others, the Commons seemed to have set their Hearts the most on having remedy'd. This Council was likewise careful not to employ any, of whose Fidelity they were not well assured. And not judging it to be safe to trust a single Person any more with the chief Command of their Armies, they appointed the Bishop of *Zamora*, and *Don Gonzalo Gusman*, Nephew to the Commendador of *Calatrava*, and *James Gusman*, in one Commission, joint Generalissimo of all their Forces. But the Soldiers, who were for having *Padilla* and none else for their General, would all have mutiny'd upon this Commission, had not *Padilla* gone among them, and told them, That the Chief Command had been offer'd to him by the Council, and that he knowing himself not to be qualify'd for so difficult a Post, thorow his want of Years and Experience, had absolutely refused both to be sole Generalissimo, and to be one of the Three, to the intent that he might command the Forces of *Toledo*,
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which he had undertaken ; *it being a Burden heavy enough for his young Shoulders.* And upon the Soldiers, not being satisfy'd with that Command's having been given from him, upon his having been so modest as to refuse it ; he told them plainly, That if they did not immediately approve of, and submit to what the Council had done, he would leave the Army, and retire to his Country House, and not meddle any more with Publick Business. The Soldiers perceiving by this, that *Padilla* was in earnest, promised to obey their new Generals in all things ; and new Levys of Men being ordered to be made in all the Provinces, the People lifted themselves every where in much greater Numbers than they had ever done before ; so that within a Month after the loss of *Tordesillas*, the Commons were much stronger in the Field than ever they had been since the beginning of the Troubles.

But there were two things the Council imitated the *Junta* in, and which in the end were the Ruin of them both. The one was, the keeping, in a manner, only on the Defence ; whence though for above eighteen Months, they had the whole Kingdom almost at their Devotion ; yet neither of them did any thing in a Martial way, that was considerable, towards the disabling of the

the Nobles to make Head against them. The other was, That the Council, notwithstanding its having begun so briskly with the Nobles, as to threaten them with a Resumption of all the Crown-Lands, did afterwards no less than the *Junta* suffer it self to be amused with Treaty after Treaty, until a powerful Army was brought out of *Navar* to destroy them.

But in the mean while the Admiral perceiving that the Commons by the great blow he had given them, were become both stronger and more resolute than they were before, endeavoured to have created a Jealousy in them of all the Nobles that were among them, by some Letters which he pretended to write to the King, but which he took care to have intercepted by the Council: In which Letters he told the King that the Nobles, which were among the Commons, were grown so weary of serving them, that they were entred into a secret Treaty with him, and did all offer, if they might be assured of a Pardon, to leave the Commons to his Mercy. And having named all the Nobles that were among the Commons, he earnestly intreated the King, That they might all have their Pardons in as ample a Form as they could desire; assuring him, That the Commons, so soon

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as they were deserted by those Nobles, would quickly moulder away, and come to nothing. But this Stratagem of the Admiral's was defeated, by his over-acting in it. His naming *Padilla* and some others of the Nobles in those Letters, of whose Fidelity to them the Commons were too well assured, to entertain the least Suspicion of their being in any such secret Correspondence to their Prejudice, made the Council conclude, that it was nothing but a Trick of the Admiral's, to make them mistrust their best Friends; so that instead of being jealous of those Persons that were named in the Admiral's Letters, they confided the more in them, for his having named them; concluding from thence, that they were in no Correspondence with him.

This Trick of the Admiral's succeeding so ill, his next was, to get the Pope's Nuncio to offer his Master's Mediation, which that Minister, who was entirely in the Interest of the Court and the Nobles, was so forward to do, that he counterfeited a Letter from the Cardinal *de Medicis*, by whom the Papacy was governed at that time, commanding him to offer it. This Mediation being first offer'd to the Governours, and to the Nobles, they readily accepted of it; and the Council of the Commons, tho' they were sensible, that the Nuncio in this
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Negotiation would be the Admiral's Spy or Agent, much rather than a Mediator, yet fearing lest it might bring them under a great Odium, should they refuse the Pope's Mediation, they accepted of it too, when it was offered to them, but at the same time did intend to observe the Nuncio narrowly, and, if it were possible, not to suffer him to come within the Gates of *Valedolid*. And accordingly, Word being sent to them by the Nuncio, that he intended to be with them the next Day, they ordered the Deputies named by them for the Treaty, to go and meet the Nuncio, and conduct him to a Monastery of *St. Hierom*, that stood in the Suburbs.

But the Nuncio, when he was in the Monastery, being told by the Deputies that was the Place the Council had appointed to treat with him in, answered them in a great Passion, that if he were not suffered to treat with the Council it self, and in the City, he would immediately give over his Mediation; the distrusting the Sincerity of the Minister of the Common Father of *Christendom*, in a Mediation of Peace (as it was plain they did) being such an Affront as was never before put upon his Holiness by any that were called Catholicks; Which Answer being sent to the Council, tho it encreased

sed their Suspicion of him, yet, dreading lest they should offend the Pope, by thus distrusting his Nuncio, they ordered their Deputies to let him know, that Lodgings were provided for him in the City, and that they were ready to hear what he had to desire of them. The *Portugal* Ambassador, who was in Company with the Nuncio, offered his Master's Mediation likewise; but the Council knowing him to be a Tool of the Admiral's, put him off, by telling him, that they hoped the Nuncio alone would be able to accommodate Matters. That Minister however kept close to the Nuncio, who having had an Audience of the Council in an Hour or two after he was in *Valedolid*, desired them to let him have their lowest Terms they were content to come to an Agreement with the Nobles upon; which being put into the Nuncio's Hands the next Day, he sent them by his Secretary to the Governours, who having perused them, desired that the Place of the Treaty might be an House which stood in the Mid-way, betwixt *Tordesillas* and *Valedolid*; and that the Deputies of the Commons might have full Power to treat and conclude upon all Points, as their Deputies should have.

But tho the Council agreed to the Place nominated by the Nobles for the Treaty,
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they would not give their Deputies Power to conclude any thing before they were acquainted with it, and had approv'd of it, notwithstanding the Nuncio urged them strongly to have done it.

But the next Morning as the Nuncio and the *Portugal* Ambassador were going out of the Gates, with the Deputies of the Commons, to the Place of Treaty, the Guards observing that those Ministers had two laden Mules more in their Retinue than they had when they came, their whole Retinue was stopp'd by an Order from the Council; and their Baggage being narrowly search'd, there was a great Sum of Money found in it; which, after a short Examination, was discover'd to have been paid by a Banker in *Valedolid*, to a Servant of the Nuncio's, by the Admiral's Order; which Money, as was suppos'd, the Nuncio was to have employ'd in Bribes, to some of the chief of the Commons Deputies at the Place of the Treaty.

The Nuncio returning in a great Storm to his Lodgings, sent his Secretary to the Council, to demand the Money that had been taken from him, and Satisfaction for the Affront that had been put upon the Common Father of *Christendom*, accusing them of having violated the Laws of all Nations, in what had been done to him by
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their Officers; and, as he was told, by their Order. The Council bid the Secretary tell his Master, That they could justify what they had done, and that, were it not for the great Veneration which they had for his Holiness, whose Minister he was, tho unworthy of that Character, they would have made him know, that one that had taken upon him the Person of a Mediator, ought not be employ'd as an Agent by either Side. And as for the Money, they said, they knew it was none of his, but the Admiral's, and that they were resolved to keep it.

The Nuncio having receiv'd this Answer, left *Valedolid*; and when he came to *Tordesillas*, he told the Admiral in a Fury, that the Commons were Rebels, fit to be hanged, and not to be treated withal, and that there was no other way of reducing them to Obedience, but by pursuing them in all Places with Fire and Sword.

But the Admiral having something more in *Castile* to lose than the angry Nuncio, did not think fit to take his Counsel; only to gratify him a little, he writ a Letter, and sent it by a Trumpeter to the Magistrates of *Valedolid*, commanding them upon Pain of High-Treason, to dissolve the Council that was in their City; and having done that, to lay down their Arms,

and return to the Obedience of good Subjects.

To which Letter the following Answer was returned by the same Trumpeter, by the Magistrates of that City :

THE Letter your Excellency sent us by this Trumpeter, contains two Heads : The First is a Command to return to the Obedience of their Catholick Majesties. And, the Second, is a Threat, to pursue us as Rebels, if we do not presently comply with this your Command.

As to the First ; As this noble City, and in Truth all the Commons of Castile, have been always faithful to their Princes ; so it was nothing but the great Affection and Zeal this City has for their Catholick Majesties, that induced them to join themselves to the rest of the Commons that are now in Arms, by whom nothing is desired that is not for their Catholick Majesties Interest, as well as for the Interest of the whole Kingdom ; to both which great Interests the Nobles are at this time, and have always been Enemies. For who were they that apprehended King John, and made him a close Prisoner ? Were they not the Nobles ? And by whom was that King set at Liberty, and restored to his Royal Dignity ? Was it not by the Commons, and particularly those of this City ?

And

of the Commons of Castile. 325

And who were they that depriv'd King Henry, Son to that King John, of his Crown, and after an ignominious Manner gave it to his Brother? Were they not the Nobles? And by whom were the Authors of all those Evils driven out of Abula, and that King restored? Was it not by the Commons? And by whom but by the Nobles were the Portugueze brought into this Kingdom, with an Intention of taking the Crown from Queen Isabella, and her Husband Don Ferdinand, to give it to a Stranger? And by whom were the Portugueze driven out of this Kingdom, and the Crown secured, but by the Commons?

And who are they but the Nobles that have robb'd the Crown of its ancient Lands and Revenues, so that in the hundred Leagues which are betwixt this City and that of Compostella, the Crown has only three Towns, the rest being all in the Possession of the Nobles; by which Means the Crown is forced to burden the Commons with new Taxes and Tributes, to support its Authority and Dignity. And for that Reason the Commons, before they will lay down their Arms, are resolv'd to have all the alienated Lands and publick Revenues restored to the Crown; the great Riches of the Nobility, and the Poverty of the Crown being visibly the great and standing Grievance of the Kingdom. And whereas the Commons, if their Catholick Majesties will but be pleas'd to grant them all their

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just Demands, will desire nothing farther of them; when the Nobles shall bring in the Account of the Charges they have been at in this War against their Country, the small Pittance of Lands that remain still to the Crown will not be found sufficient to satisfy them.

As to your threatening to pursue us as Rebels, with Fire and Sword, if we do not presently yield Obedience to your Command; it is not unlikely that you, and the Nobles that are with you, may begin such a War upon us, but if you do, as we know certainly that it will be offensive to God, and contrary to their Catholick Majesties Intentions, and pernicious to our common Country, so we are resolved to fight it out with you. And as we aim at nothing but the Support of their Majesties Authority, and the Security of the Laws and publick Liberties of the Kingdom; so we doubt not but thorough God's Assistance, in so just a Cause, we shall be able not only to defend our selves against all your Violences, but to destroy all the Forces you shall be able to bring into the Field against us.

We do nevertheless, out of the great Love we have for our common Country, and to prevent the Misery and Desolation it will be brought under by such a War, once more entreat you, and the Nobles that are with you, to join with the Commons, in supplicating his Majesty to redress all their great Grievances; which if you shall

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continue to refuse to do, we will come against you with the Armies of their Catholick Majesties, as against Traytors and Enemies to your Country.

It is plain from this last Paragraph, that the Commons, for all their talking so high of stripping the Nobles of all their Crown-Lands, would have let them alone with those, if they would but have joined with them to have procur'd the redressing of their other Grievances; for it would otherwise have been a Madness in the Commons to have expected that of them.

The Council, by whose Directions this Answer was returned to the Admiral's Letter, to let him know how they resented his Carriage towards them, order'd Part of their Army to go and sack *Turrelabaton*, a Castle that belong'd to him; with which Design the Admiral being acquainted, by the Spies he had among the Commons, march'd with all the Troops he could draw together, to have cover'd it; but not finding himself strong enough to face the Forces that came against it, he withdrew to some Mountains that were near; from whence he look'd on, and saw his Castle plunder'd and burnt down to the Ground; and as he was retreating to *Tordesillas*, the Commons sent him Word by one of his

Servants, That it should not be long before they would make that Place too hot for him. Presently after they plundered and sacked *Ligalos*, a Castle of the Conde of *Beneventum*, and bid his Servants go and tell their Lord, That they who were Enemies to the Liberties of their Country, ought not be suffered to have any Fortresses in it, to support their Tyrannies.

Had the Commons handled the Grantees thus a Year sooner, they had certainly forc'd them to join with them; but it was now too late, the *Navar* Army being now ready to enter *Castile*. But to put a Stop to their present furious Hostilities, till that Army came to put an end to them, the Bishop of *Laodicea*, and *Garcia Loiasa*, a famous *Dominican*, who were both very popular, were dispatch'd by the Admiral to *Valedolid*, to try if they could obtain a Cessation of Arms of the Council, and could set on foot a new Treaty.

But the Council, when it was vehemently solicited by those two popular Ecclesiasticks for a Cessation and a new Treaty, told them plainly, That they had been so often abused by such Shams, that they were resolved never to listen to any Proposition made to them by the Admiral: Neither would they, had not *Padilla*, to whom they did not well know how to deny any thing, desired that

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there might be a Cessation only for a Week, that the Recruits of *Toledo*, which had begun to march, might get up to the Army without being disturbed. Upon which short Cessation, a Treaty was likewise yielded to; at which the Admiral and Nobles offered such Terms to the Commons, that *Don Peter de Lasso, Padilla*, and most of the Commons Deputies were so far satisfy'd, as to endeavour to have promoted a Conjunction upon them.

But the Council, when those Propositions came to be reported to it, rejected them for two Reasons: The one was, That they fell short of redressing some of the Commons chief Grievances. And the other was, That they did not give the Commons a sufficient Security of the Fidelity of the Nobles, if they should join with them. And thus ended the last Treaty betwixt the Nobles and the Commons, their Differences being, after that, left to the Sword to decide.

And so the Council having had Intelligence, that the Prior of *St. John* had got a considerable Body of Men together about *Mota*, and was very active against them, they sent the Bishop of *Zamora*, with a Force much superiour to the Prior's, to clear the Country of him. But the Prior, when the Bishop drew near him, finding that he was

was not strong enough to keep the Field, pretended to be so great a Friend to the Commons and their Cause, that he offered to join his Troops to those of the Bishop, to maintain it. And having by this Pretence obtained a Truce for two Days, he fell upon the Bishop the Night before the Expiration of that Term; and having made a great Slaughter of his Men before they could stand to their Arms, the rest were all dispersed; the Bishop himself narrowly escaping being made a Prisoner.

The Prior endeavoured to excuse this Breach of Faith, by pretending that his Men had fallen upon the Bishop without his Order; and the Town of *Mota*, which had been the Prior's Head-Quarters, having in his Absence declared for the Commons, shut its Gates against him, tho he return'd to it victorious. And being resolv'd to defend it self against him to the last, as soon as the Prior began to Fire upon them, they lodg'd all their Women, Children, and best Goods in the great Church, from whose Tower they annoy'd the Prior very much with a Piece of Canon they had planted upon it; but a Barrel of Powder happening to take Fire in the Tower, shook the Church so, that its whole Roof fell in, and killed all that were under it: By which terrible Blow, the Besieged were

disheartned, that they immediately capitulated, and delivered the Town to the Prior.

The People of *Burgos*, being alarm'd with the News of a great and well-disciplin'd Army, which had been drawn out of *Navar*, advancing towards them, seiz'd on the Constable: And having made him a Prisoner, they sent to the Council for Men, Artillery and Ammunition, to defend their City, in Case it should be attacked, as they had Cause to fear it would very speedily. The Council knowing of how great Importance it was to their Affairs, not to suffer that City to come into the Hands of the Nobles, immediately dispatch'd the Bishop of *Zamora* and *Padilla*, with a great Body of Troops, and all other Necessaries, and with Orders to fortify that City, and put a strong Garrison into it; and to assure the People, that if they were besieged, the whole Force of *Castile* should be sent to their Relief. But before those two Generals were got half way to *Burgos*, they had Intelligence of that City's having come to an Agreement with the Constable, and that they had received the King's Regidor, whom, in the Beginning of the Troubles, they had chased from among them. Upon this sudden Change, *Zamora* and *Padilla* were order'd by the Council to go and help the Conde
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de Salva Terra to recover *Ampudia*, which had been taken from him by some Troops of *Biscainers*, upon that *Conde's* having declar'd himself on the Side of the Commons; which having been done by those two Generals, with very little Loss, they returned to *Medina Campi*, where they refreshed their Troops (which were much fatigu'd by a long March thorough a Mountainous Country) until the Recruits of the Cities of *Salamanca*, *Segovia*, and *Avila*, came thither; which Recruits, notwithstanding all the Admiral's Endeavours to have intercepted them, they convey'd in Safety to *Valedolid*; to which Place such large Recruits came at this time from all Parts of the Kingdom, that the Commons Army was now much greater than it had ever been before.

But as their Soldiers were all raw and undisciplin'd, so among all their General Officers, tho they abounded with such, there was not one of any Experience in War; and among the *Subalterns* there were but few that knew much of it.

And tho the Council could not but be sensible, that such a Herd, tho never so numerous, and personally never so stout, would not be able to stand before the *Veterane* Army that was coming against them from *Navar*, we do not read that they ever
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ply'd themselves to the *French*, tho at that time in open War with the Crown of *Spain*, to have diverted that Army from coming into *Castile*, by cutting them out Work at home. And if it is strange that the Council did not make use of the *French* to divert an Army which was the only Force that could have destroyed them, it is more wonderful that the *French*, who have never suffered much by their being too slow, should not, without being solicited to it, have done the Commons of *Castile* so great a piece of Service. For tho it is true that the *French* over-run the Kingdom of *Navar*, with the more ease, for their not having invaded it, until after the Army was drawn out of it into *Castile*; yet by giving that Army leisure to subdue the Commons, (which they must needs know it would do with great ease) they lost that Kingdom again, in as short a time as they had conquer'd it, viz. upon that Army's returning home victorious, and much stronger too by reason of it's being reinforced in *Castile* by the Admiral's Troops, which could not otherwise have been spared out of that Kingdom.

It was in this *Navar*-War that *Ignatius Loyola* was, to the great unhappiness of the whole World, hurt at *Pampelona* with a Bullet: For that hurt prov'd the occasion of

of his giving over the Soldiers Trade, and of his turning Enthusiast, and becoming afterwards the Contriver of a Society, which has done more Mischief in the World than Bullets and Gunpowder; which truly might have deserved Pardon for a great deal that they have done, had they at this time done their Work thoroughly, and kill'd out-right instead of only wounding such an Incendiary.

The *Navar* Army being come near to *Burgos*, the Constable forgetting all the Promises he had made to that City, concerning the redressing of several of the Commons chief Grievances, went and put himself at the head of it; and having taken upon him the Title of one of the Governours of the Kingdom, he by sound of Trumpet proclaimed all that were in Arms under the Name of the Communities of *Castile*, or that were any way assisting to them, Traytors: but at the same time, offered them a general Pardon, if they would immediately lay down their Arms, and return home quietly to their Houses. And having put a good Garrison into the Castle of *Burgos*, he marched towards *Tordesillas*, sending to the Admiral to come and meet him with all his Forces, that being joined they might, if it was possible, bring the Commons to a Battle,

le, before the *French*, who had enter'd *Navar* as soon as the *Spanish* Army was drawn out of it, had made themselves Masters of that Kingdom.

It would certainly have been the Wisdom of the Council to have done all that was in their Power to avoid coming to a Battle. And that they might have done, by drawing their Army out of the Field to garrison their Cities and great Towns; few or none of which the *French* wou'd have allow'd the Governours leisure to have besieged; neither were they provided of a Train of Artillery and other Materials necessary for such a Work. But the Council (instead of taking this Course which in their Circumstances, was certainly the safest) trusting, 'tis like, to their great Numbers, commanded their whole Army to march, and encamp it self about *Turrelabaton*, with Orders to prevent the Conjunction of the two Royal Armies, and to Fight either of them single, if they found it necessary to keep them from joyning.

But the Constable, who before had marched directly towards *Turrelabaton*, having received Intelligence of the Commons whole Army being encamped about that Place, altered his Course, and marching Day and Night, chopped betwixt *Valedolid* and *Turrelabaton*, so as to cut off all
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Communication betwixt the Council and their Army. And being there joyned by the Admiral, they immediately sent a Trumpet to *Valedolid*, commanding that City, upon pain of Treason, to lay down their Arms, and to receive the Garrison they were ready to send to them; with which Summons the Magistrates, and others, that had any thing to lose, were so terrify'd, that they were for sending the Keys of their Gates presently to the Governours, with an humble Petition for a General Pardon.

Neither would the Council have been able to have hindred them from doing it, had not a *Dominican*, and a *Trinitarian* Fryar run through the Streets, crying out, the City was betray'd, and would, if it were not speedily prevented, be put into the hands of the Nobles, upon Discretion; with which out-cry, the Populace being raised, they with their two Fryars at their Head, ran in a great Fury to the Town-House, where having threatned to cut the Throat, and burn down the House of the first Man that talk'd of delivering up the City to the Nobles; they brought out the City-Standard, and setting it up in the Field without the Gates, commanded all that were able to bear Arms, upon pain of Death, to repair to it immediately, to defend the

the City, and the Common Liberties of their Country, which were all at the point of being lost.

But the Governours being sensible, that if the Commons Army were once routed, *Valedolid* and all their other Places would fall into their hands of course; never intended to lose time (which the *French* being victorious in *Navar*, made to be very precious to them) in slow Sieges. And accordingly the very next day after their Armies were joined, they marched directly toward *Turrelabaton*, where the Commons Army still remained; and fearing lest when they heard of their Conjunction, and of their advancing towards them, they might retreat to some Mountains which were near, they sent all their Horse, with a great number of Trumpets before, with Orders, *If they found the Commons moving towards the Mountains, to fall upon their Rear, and keep them in play till the Foot came up.*

It was so as the Governours had apprehended; the Commons Generals, so soon as they heard of the Conjunction of the two Royal Armies, resolved to decamp, and intrench themselves among the Mountains, where, if the Governours should attempt to force them to a Battle, their Cavalry, in which their main strength consisted, would be but of little use to them.

But as a great, but undisciplined, and ill Officer'd Army, is an unweildy Body for any regular Motion; so before the Commons had dislodged, news was brought by their Scouts, of the Governour's whole Cavalry being come within a few Miles, and that they marched so fast, that they would quickly be up with them. The Commons raw Generals, who were at their Wits end, were so long in deliberating, whether, now that Night was coming on, it would be safest for them to keep their Ground, and wait for Day-light, or decamp immediately, and make their Retreat in the Dark, that before they could come to any Resolution upon that point, they were Alarm'd with a mighty noise of Trumpets, upon which they commanded the Army to dislodge immediately, and with the greatest Silence possible to retreat towards the Mountains.

But so strangely were the raw Soldiers terrify'd by the Darkness of the Night, and the great noise of Trumpets, which still drew nearer and nearer, that they no sooner began to move, than their Horse and Foot were all thorow one another, and their Ranks being all broke, instead of retreating orderly, they fled towards the Mountains in the greatest Confusion imaginable. So that the Royal Cavalry, when they came
up,

up, meeting with no manner of Opposition, trotted thorow them in the dark, without losing, or killing one single Man, unless it were some that they rode over; and before it was light, they had put themselves betwixt the foremost of the Foot and the Mountains. And tho after it was Day, the Commons Officers did all that was possible to have brought both their Horse, which were got among the Mountains, and their Foot into a Body, telling them, that if they would but fall upon the Royal Cavalry, (which was so tired with their long March, that their Horses were scarce able to stand, or their Riders to sit them) they might with great ease cut them all to pieces; yet so great was the Consternation they were in, that there was no perswading either the Horse to face about, or the Foot to draw into a Body to fight their way to them. So the Officers perceiving that it was in vain to strive any longer, shifted every Man for himself as secretly as he could, endeavouring, by bye ways, to get into *Navar*, of which Kingdom they had heard the *French* had made themselves Masters.

The Foot laying down their Arms, cry'd out for Quarter, which was not only granted to them, and to all the *Subalterns*, by the Governours, who having left their Foot

behind them, were at *Turrelabaton* very early in the Morning; but they were all commanded to leave the Field immediately, and run home to their Houses before the Governour's Infantry came up, which wou'd not easily have been kept from stripping them.

But tho the private Centinels and Subalterns were treated so mercifully by the Governours, the General Officers that were taken by some fresh Horse which were sent in pursuit of them, scaped not so well. For *Don John de Padilla*, and *Don John Bravo*, and *Don Francis Maldonada* being taken Prisoners, were all three beheaded the next day after the Rout. *Don Peter Maldonada*, was likewise sentenced to die; but being reprieved, at the Intercession of his Uncle the Conde of *Beneventum*, he, and the Bishop of *Zamora* were committed close Prisoners to the Castle of *Simanchas*.

John Bravo, as he was going to the Scaffold, hearing the Cryer that went before him, say, *This is the Justice which his Majesty and the Lord High Constable, with other Governours, do command in his Name, to be executed upon the Persons of these Gentlemen. Their Command is, That they should be beheaded as Traytors, Disturbers of the Kingdom, and Usurpers of the*
Royal

Royal Crown. He reply'd, Hangman thou liest, and those that bid thee say so; We are no Traytors, but zealous for the Publick Good, and Defenders of the Kingdoms Liberties. In order to render John de Padilla's Lady, who was every where called *La Muger Valerosa*, odious to the People, it was given out, that at his Death her Husband had blamed her as the Author of his untimely end, and of all his other Misfortunes. But by the Letter which that Gentleman writ to his Lady on the Day of his Execution, the Falsity of that Report was made manifest.

Don John de Padilla's Letter
to his L A D Y.

SENNORA.

IF your Pain did not more trouble me, than the losing of my Life, I should esteem myself entirely happy. For Death being a thing so certain to all Mortals, the Almighty sheweth him a singular Favour whom he honoureth with such a one as mine; which, tho lamented by many, is doubtless acceptable in his Sight. It would require more time than I have, to write several things which might be for your Consolation. But as that cannot be allowed, so neither do I

Z. 3.

desire

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desire to defer the Reception of that Crown which I hope to enjoy. You may, like a discreet Woman, bewail your own Misfortune, but not my Death; For being in so good a Cause, it ought not to be lamented by any; My Soul, since nothing else is left me, I bequeath to you, desiring you to entertain it as a thing which most affected you. I do not write to Pedro Lopez, my Father, because I dare not. For tho I was his Son in daring to lose my Life, I was not Heir to his good Fortune. I will not enlarge any farther, because I will not trouble the Executioner to wait, nor give way for any one to suspect, that to prolong my Life I enlarge my Letter: My Servant Sossa, being an Eye-witness of my end, and one to whom I have communicated the Secrets of my Heart, shall tell you what cannot be expressed herein. So I rest, expecting the Instrument of your Sorrow, and my Comfort.

He writ a Letter at the same time to the City of Toledo, in which he tells her, That she must consider that these are but the Turns of Fortune's Wheel, which never standeth still; That it was his Contentment and Consolation that he suffered Death for her, and that she nourished at her Breast such as may take Satisfaction for his Wrongs.

And when he was upon the Scaffold, having taken off certain Relicks which he wore

wore about his Neck, he gave them to Don Enriche de Sandoval y Roias, eldest Son to the Marquess of Denia, praying him to wear them whilst the War lasted, which being ended, he desired him to send them to his Wife.

The News of this cheap, and compleat Victory, brought the Keys of *Valedolid*, and of all the other Associated Cities and Towns, except *Toledo*, to the Governours; with humble Petitions for a General Pardon; and so strangely intimidated were the Commons in all places by this single Blow, that notwithstanding the Army they had been dispersed by, and all the other standing Forces of the Kingdom march'd forth-against the *French* (who having over-run *Navar* like a Torrent, were ready to enter *Castile*) and tho there did not want those who did all that was possible in all Places to have perswaded them to take up their Arms again, and not to lose so fair an Opportunity, to recover their lost Credit, and dying Liberties; they were not to be moved any where to do it. So that never did any Cause which was espoused by the whole Body of a People, and which had been allowed time to put it self under some Government, fall so flat all at once as this of the Commons of *Castile*, no Place besides *Toledo*, making the least Effort to renew the

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War, after they had once heard of their Army's being dispersed.

And as to *Toledo*, it was kept from submitting by the Clergy, but chiefly by *Pardilla's* Widow; who, having the Populace at her Devotion, called on them incessantly not to lay down their Arms, until they had secured the Liberties they had taken upon them to defend, and until they had taken Vengeance too on those Butchers, meaning the Governours, who had cut the Throats of their best Patriots. And having sent a Courier to the *French* General, to sollicite him, *Now he had conquer'd Navar, to march into Castile with all possible Expedition, to give Life to the Commons again, upon a Promise from that General, That he would do so, she sent Letters all over Castile, to exhort the Commons, To take up their Arms which they had so dishonourably laid down; telling them, That if they did not make use of this favourable Juncture, they must, to their eternal Infamy, entail Slavery upon themselves and their Posterity, since they could never expect to have the like Opportunity again of preserving themselves a free People.*

There not being Strength enough left in *Castile* to reduce *Toledo* by Force, the Governours employ'd the Marquis of *Vilena*, who had a great Interest in the *Sylva's*, a numerous Family in that City, to try if he
could

could perswade it to submit ; but that Negotiation taking Air, the *Sylva's* were all turned out of the City ; as was *Don John de Cardenas* also, upon Suspicion of his being in a Correspondence with the Governours. *Padilla's* Widow was vehemently solicited too by her Brother, the *Marquess de Mondejar*, either to perswade *Toledo* to submit, or to leave it, promising her a great Reward from the Governours, if she would do either ; but all the Answer he could have from her, was, *That as she did not care to out-live the Liberties of her Country, so had she a thousand Lives, she would lose them all, rather than receive any Favour from those Traytors to their Country, who had butcher'd the brave Padilla, for no other Reason, but for his having stood up for its Liberties.*

But whilst this Hero of a Woman was thus labouring to have raised a new War, the News came of *William de Croy*, the young *Flemish* Archbishop of *Toledo* being dead in *Flanders*, and of *Don Antony de Fonseca*, Archbishop of *Compostella*, who was a *Castilian*, being named by the King to succeed him. And whereas that young *Flemish* Archbishop had been all along the Clergy's chief Grievance, as soon as they knew of his being taken away, they did not only desert *Padilla's* Widow, but conspir'd

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spir'd with her Enemies to have turn'd her out of *Toledo*. And when they found that was not to be done, whilst the People were so much at her Devotion, to ruin her Credit with them, the Clergy confidently gave out, *That she was a Witch, and that the Negro Maid she kept, was no Woman, but an Imp of Hell, that furnished her with Charms to fascinate People into a Veneration for her.* And to satisfy all her Adorers, that they were bewitch'd by her, they affirm'd, *That by Virtue of some very strong Exorcisms, they had forc'd the Devil to confess as much out of the Mouths of several of her chief Admirers.*

But so resolute was this Lady, who had no other Charms but those kind Nature had bestow'd on her, that tho she found her Credit ruin'd by this Report, with the Populace, who began now to look upon her as no other than a Devil; yet no Promises nor Threats were sufficient to oblige her, either to leave *Toledo*, or to endeavour to perswade that City to submit it self to the Governours. And when her House was assaulted by the Bishop of *Leon*, at the Head of a Multitude whom he had disinchant'd with Exorcisms, she, with her own Servants, and some of the Ring-leaders of the first Tumults, defended it against him for some Hours. And when at last

last she found that there was no Remedy, but that she must either capitulate (which that Bishop offered several times to do) or must be made a Prisoner, she stole out by Night out of the Back-Gate of her House, in a Disguize, with her Sister, the Countess of *Montecute*; and escaping out of the City, she fled to *Portugal*, where she was kindly entertain'd by the noble Family of the *Pacheico's*, which was her own Maiden Name, and to which she was nearly related in Blood; neither did she ever return to *Castile*, or make any Application to the Emperot, or to any of his Ministers, for a Pardon.

The Day after *Padilla's* Widow left *Toledo*, which was the 10th of *February*, in the Year 1532. that City sent Deputies to the Governours, with its Submission, and with a most humble Supplication to them for a General Pardon for themselves, and for all others who had been any ways engaged in the late Troubles. And thus ended the War of the Commons of *Castile*, which began in the Month of *April*, in the Year 1520. Neither did the War of the Commons of *Valencia* last much longer; which having been all along carried on with much greater Fury and Devastations than that of *Castile*, ended in a great Slaughter of the Commons in a Field Battle.

I have no where met with the Particulars of that War; and tho it was on Foot at the same time with this of *Castile*, I do not find that there was ever any Correspondence or Communication of Councils betwixt the Commons of those two Kingdoms, either before or after they took up Arms.

The *September* following the Emperor returned to *Spain*; where he was the more welcome for having lost *Chevers*, who died in *Germany*, and, as it was said, of pure *Passion*, upon his Master's having enter'd into a strict Alliance with the Pope against the French, without having made him privy to it.

It was generally expected that the Emperor, to quiet the Minds of the *Castilians*, and to reconcile them to his Person and Government, would presently after he came among them, have granted them a General Indemnity; but he was so far from doing that, that the first thing he order'd, was, *The beheading of the Bishop of Zamora*, who, in order to make his Escape, is said to have beat out the Brains of the Governour of the Castle, as he was in Discourse with him by the Fire-side, with a Brickbat, which he put into the Bag wherein he used to carry his Breviary; also of Don Peter Maldonada, at Simanchas;
and

and of Don Pedro Pimental de Talavera, at Placentia; and of seven of the principal Procurators of the Junta, at Medina Campi. And when an Indemnity came to be granted, it was so clogg'd with Exceptions, that it gave but little Satisfaction to the *Castilians*, two hundred and seventy Persons being excepted in it from Pardon, by Name; among whom were *Padilla's* Widow, *Don Peter Giron*, *Don Peter de Lasso*, the *Conde de Salvaterra*, and a great many of the *Cadets* of the best Families in *Castile*.

The Emperor having returned from *Germany* very poor, and much in Debt, assembled a *Cortes* at *Valedolid*. And tho the Procurators of that Assembly were all Courtiers, and most of them had been ill treated too by the Commons, when they were in Arms, yet they had both too much Sense and too much Honesty, to sacrifice the Liberties of their Country, either to their own private Interests, or to their Resentments; which, upon such an Occasion, a weaker and less steady People than the *Castilians* are, would have been in Danger of doing. For at the opening of this *Cortes*, the following wise and honest Speech was made to the Emperor, by Dr. *John Rodrigo Pifa*, the *Prolocutor* of the Commons.

T H E

THE

Prolocutor's SPEECH.

Most Sacred Emperor, and our Catholick King,

WE the Procurators of these Kingdoms do humbly supplicate your Majesty, to do the Kingdom we represent the Justice, as to believe that they do not yield in Loyalty and Fidelity to their Princes, to any of your other Dominions.

And as there is not one Procurator in this Cortes, that is not either of your Majesty's Household, or in some Office or other of your giving, and that was not a Sufferer too for your Crown in the late Seditions; so they do all, with Hearts full of Loyalty, and with much Affection for your Royal Person and Government, beseech you to be informed by this your great Council, of the true State of the Affairs of Castile, with which the Senators, which are still about your Majesty may not be so thoroughly acquainted. And tho this Cortes cannot but lament the great Mischiefs of the late Seditions, yet I must take the liberty to tell your Majesty, That if you will but be pleased to consider what it was that gave Birth to those Seditions, you will not be able to wonder at them. For is it any wonder,
that

that the demanding of a Tribute so imperiously
as that at the Groin was demanded ; and that
the having deny'd, at the Instigation of some
who prefer'd their own private Interests to those
of the Publick, to give Ear to the Commission-
ers which offer'd sound Council, should beget great
Disturbances ; which would never have been,
had the People, according to the ancient Custom,
been heard, and had their Grievances redress'd?
For had a Cortes been called to consult about the
publick Good, and not only to give Money, which
was the Case of that at the Groin, they would
not only have given your Majesty the Money
you desired, but a great deal more, if you had
Occasion for it. But those things being past, I
shall say no more of them, but will speak to what
is present. Your Majesty was pleased in your
Letters for our assembling, first to promise, To
consult us about what will be for the Advantage
of these Kingdoms ; and after that to demand
some Money of us for the Support of your Go-
vernment ; which Order, as being agreeable to
the ancient Custom, was very welcome to all
your Majesty's good Subjects ; whose Grievances
shall be first laid before your Majesty ; and we
do most humbly supplicate to have redressed.
Neither ought it to be any Prejudice to this
Course, that of late Years it has been the Custom
for Corteses, first to give Money, and after
that to deliberate about the Publick Affairs, so
long as the other is both more ancient and
more reasonable. We

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that the demanding of a Tribute so imperiously as that at the Groin was demanded; and that the having deny'd, at the Instigation of some who prefer'd their own private Interests to those of the Publick, to give Ear to the Commissioners which offer'd sound Council, should beget great Disturbances; which would never have been, had the People, according to the ancient Custom, been heard, and had their Grievances redress'd? For had a Cortes been called to consult about the publick Good, and not only to give Money, which was the Case of that at the Groin, they would not only have given your Majesty the Money you desired, but a great deal more, if you had Occasion for it. But those things being past, I shall say no more of them, but will speak to what is present. Your Majesty was pleased in your Letters for our assembling, first to promise, To consult us about what will be for the Advantage of these Kingdoms; and after that to demand some Money of us for the Support of your Government; which Order, as being agreeable to the ancient Custom, was very welcome to all your Majesty's good Subjects; whose Grievances shall be first laid before your Majesty; and we do most humbly supplicate to have redressed. Neither ought it to be any Prejudice to this Course, that of late Years it has been the Custom for Corteses, first to give Money, and after that to deliberate about the Publick Affairs, so long as the other is both more ancient and more reasonable.

We

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We do therefore throw our selves at your Majesty's Feet, humbly supplicating that the Grievances of the Subjects may be first consider'd and redress'd, that so we may afterwards, with the more Freedom, do every thing that will any ways contribute to your Majesty's Grandeur and Happiness, which we shall always study to augment.

The Emperor, who was not at all pleased with this free Speech of the Prolocutor's, told the Cortes upon it, *That tho no Prince could be better dispos'd than he was, to make all his Subjects easy, yet he could not give way to the altering of a Custom introduc'd by so good Policy as that had been of a Cortes first dispatching what was demanded of them by the Crown. Because, if the giving of Money were postpon'd to the remedying of Grievances, the redressing of them would no longer be look'd on as an Act of Grace in the Prince, but would be reckon'd to have been purchased with Money, which otherwise would not have been given. Besides, should it be known at the Great Turk's, and some other Courts, that his Subjects had prescribed new Laws to him, his Figure and Authority would be much lessened by it. He desired them therefore, Not to lose time in needless Debates, but to go immediately upon the Supply which he had demanded of them, and after that was finished, he promised, That they*
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should have no Cause to complain of him, for having deny'd any thing that is reasonable to the good People of Castile.

But the Cortes, notwithstanding this Promise, being still jealous, that if the Money were once given, they might be sent home with their Grievances unredress'd, did, in a Body, humbly supplicate the King, That the Grievances of the Kingdom might be first taken into Consideration, giving him all possible Assurances of supplying him with the Sum he had desired, after they were all once remedy'd. But being told by the King, *That it was in vain for them to struggle with him for a thing which he was resolved never to grant*, they gave it over, and presently voted the Sum that had been desired, which was forty hundred thousand Ducats, to be paid in three Years. After that, the following Bills having been agreed to by the whole Cortes, were presented to the King, to have his Royal Assent to them.

- I. *That no Benefice or Office, Ecclesiastical or Civil, shall be conferred on any Foreigner.*
- II. *That the King's Guards shall all be Castilians.*
- III. *That the Judges in the Country shall not be paid out of the Fines of Persons that have been sentenced by them.*

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- IV. *That no Money shall be given or promised to any Person whatsoever, out of the Penalties of Delinquents, before they are convicted.*
- V. *That no Money shall be given away, before it has been paid into the Exchequer.*
- VI. *That no Monk, nor any other Ecclesiastical Person shall be capable of buying any Lands, now in the Possession of Laicks; and in Case any such Land should fall to them by Inheritance, they shall sell it to the Laity.*
- VII. *That it shall not be lawful to sell any Grain standing in the Field.*
- VIII. *That no Man shall be hinder'd from wearing a Sword.*
- IX. *That no Masquerades shall be tolerated.*

The King is said to have given his Royal Assent to some of these Bills; but to which of them we are not told.

The Clergy, who three Years before had deny'd to pay the Tenths of their Benefices to the King, were now glad to compound with him for their Fourths; which were given to the King by Pope *Adrian*, their late Governour, who had been chosen Pope whilst he was in *Castile*.

But the *Italians*, when *Adrian* came among them, finding him too honest a Man

ro

of the Commons of Castile. 355

to make a good Pope, they dispatch'd him quickly into the next World; neither have they ever since thought it safe, to trust a *Tramontan*, or any other, that was not by Birth, Education and Conscience, an *Italian*, with the Reins of the Papal Empire.

*of the Countess of Castile
to make a good Pope, they dispatch'd him
into the next World: neither have
they ever since thought it safe, to trust a
Pope, or any other, that was not by
himself, Education and Conscience, an In-
strument with the Reins of the Papal Empire.*

V I E W

O F

Two Castilian CORTESSES.

INTRODUCTION.

HAVING in the foregoing History, so of-
ten had occasion to mention the Castili-
an Cortes, I should have been glad here to
have gratify'd the Curious with a History of
the Origen, Progress, Authority, Customs, &c.
of that August Assembly, of whose great Name
the Modern Spanish Cortes is a Shadow only.
But having never seen nor heard of any Book
upon that Subject (which is very strange, con-
sidering that no Nation in the World is so un-
mercifully

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mercifully oppress'd, as Spain, with Voluminous Histories of particular, and many times very little Persons and Places) instead of such a desirable History, I can only present the Reader with a short Account of Two of those Assemblies, neither of which is very Ancient; The First having met in the Year 1390, and the Second in the Year 1406. They were both called by Don Henry II. King of Castile; in whose Life, written in Spanish by Gill Gonzalez D. Avila, Historiographer to King Phil. IV. I met with the following Accounts; which tho short and imperfect, yet are sufficient to satisfy any Person, of the Ancient Spanish Cortes having been the same with the English Parliament, and with the Assembly of the States in France. For the Northern Nations, which pull'd down the Roman Empire, had originally all the same Form of Government, which was a mixt Monarchy; and that as well after, as before their Crowns became Hereditary (which the Gothick Spanish Crown was not for some hundreds of Years after the Goths had settled themselves in Spain) the Authority of the Government in all those Nations was lodged so, in the King, and the Estates, that no Laws could be made, repealed, or suspended, nor no Money raised upon the Subject, but with their common Consent.

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Which happy Constitution of Government, is now no where to be met with, where the Crown is Hereditary, but only in England and Scotland : And may it for ever continue in them, to be an impregnable Bulwork against Anarchy and Tyranny, the two great Plagues of Mankind.

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O F A

C O R T E S

Assembled at *MADRID*,
In the Year 1390.

THE People of *Castile* being extremely dissatisfy'd with the Persons named by King *John I.* in his Will to be their Governours, during his Son King *Henry* the II^d's Minority; the young King, by the Advice of his Council, did, on the 22^d of *October*, in the Year 1390. call a *Cortes* to meet at *Madrid*, on the 15th of *November*, to settle the Regency, as they should judge to be most convenient for his and his Kingdom's Honour and Safety.

The Persons named by the deceased King to be Governours, were *Don Alonso*, Marquess de *Vilena*, Constable of *Castile*, *Don Peter*, Archbishop of *Toledo*; *Don John*, Archbishop of *Compostella*; *Don Peter Nunnes*, Master of *Calatrava*; *Don John Alphonso*, Conde of *Niebla*; and *Don Peter Goncales*, Steward of the Household.

The WRIT sent by the King to the City of Abula.

Don Henry, by the Grace of God, King of *Castile*, *Leon*, *Toledo*, *Galicie*, *Sevil*, *Corduba*, *Murcia*, *Jaen*, *Algarve*, and *Algeziva*; and Lord of *Biscay*, *Molina*, *Conceio*, &c.

To the City of *Abula*, Health and Grace, as to those in whom we do much confide;

HAVING in my former Letters acquainted you with the Death of the King, my Father and Lord, (whom may God pardon) This is to let you know, that by the Advice of the Persons who were Counsellors to my Father, (whom may God admit into his holy Paradise) I have determined to call together all the Prelates, Masters, Condes, and Ricoshomes, and all the other Nobles, and all the Procurators of the Cities and Towns of these my Kingdoms and

Assembled at Madrid. 361

and Lordships, to treat about the Regency, and about whatsoever else shall be for my Service, and the Honour and Safety of my Kingdoms.

And having to that end summoned all the said Prelates, Dukes, Masters, Condes, Ricoshomes, and all the Procurators ; you having a Right to sit and vote in a Cortes, must, so soon as this my Writ comes to your Hands, choose from among your selves two good and sufficient Procurators, to act for God's and my Service, and for the common Good of the said Kingdoms ; and with this we command you to comply so, that your Procurators may, without fail, meet me at Madrid, on the 15th of November next.

Given at Madrid, the
22d of October, in
the Year of our Sa-
viour Jesus Christ,
1390.

I, The KING.

I Peter Alfonso caused this to be written at the Command of our Lord the King.

NOTES

NOTES on this WRIT.

[*MASTERS.*] These were the Heads of the three Military Orders, of *St. James*, *Alcantara*, and *Calatrava*; which three rich and powerful Masterhips are now lodged in the King, who sets Presidents over them, with the Title of *Comendador Major*.

[*CONDES.*] This was for many Ages the highest hereditary Title in *Spain*, until the present * King's Father and Grand-Father, to lessen the great Power of the *Condes*, created Dukes and Marquises above them; and that the *Condes* might be the less sensible of their being Sufferers by this Change, the first Dukes and Marquises were all *Infante's*, or *Princes of the Blood*, and so before they had those new Titles, were superior to the *Condes*.

[*RICOSHOMES.*] This was the common Title of the Barons of *Spain*. It is the Compound of a *Gothick* and *Latin* Word; whereas *Manrique*, the Name

* *Viz. The Father and Grand-Father of this King Henry the 11d. who summon'd this Cortes.*

of a noble *Spanish* Family, signifies the same, but is wholly *Gothick*. This Title is agreeable to the Description of *Nobility's* being nothing else but *Riches long possessed in a Family*.

The *Ricosomes* were of two sorts: The first and most honourable were those that were such by Prescription, and were reckon'd to be of the same Antiquity with the Monarchy, if not older; the *Castilians*, having at first been under the Government of a *Conde*, and afterwards under that of two Magistrates, who were call'd, *The Judges of Castile*. The second were those that were made *Ricosomes* by a Patent from the King.

The Manner of creating a *Ricosome*, was by the King's giving him Lands, with Royalties and Vassals; and the Ceremony used at their Creation was this: The King gave them a *Standard* and a *Caldron*, signifying by the *Standard*, that when there was Occasion, they might arm their Vassals, and oblige them to follow their Standard in the Field; and by the *Caldron*, that they were bound to maintain their Vassals, when they fought for them.

[*From among your selves.*] The Procurators of the Cities and Towns in a *Cortes* were

were anciently Members of their own Body; and lived in, or near the Place they represented. The Cities and Towns of *Castile* had always chose all their own Magistrates, until they were depriv'd of that Privilege by this present King, who set a Magistrate over them, with the Title of *Corrigidor*. This great Innovation cost much Blood in several Places; above a thousand having been kill'd in *Sevil*, before that City could be brought to submit to it: All which Blood was spilt to little Purpose, the Cities and Towns having in the next Reign recover'd their ancient Privilege, tho they have since lost it, with all their other Liberties.

A LIST of the Procurators that were present at this CORTES.

For the City of *Burgos*.
Peter Fernandez de
 Villegas.

John de San Joan.

Garci Radz.

John Alonso de Castro
 Duarco.

Martin Gonzalez de Cen-
 cerra.

Sancho Garcia de Media.

Garci Perez de Camargo.

John Lopez de San Sales, 8.

For the City of *Toledo*.
 Peter Lopez de Ayala.

Perafon de Ribera.

John Gaitan.

John Alphonso de Zurita.

Martin Gonzalez Trape-
 ros, 5.

For the City of *Leon*.
 Pero Nunnes de Villa-
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Fernand Alvarez de
Leon.

Goncalo Fernandez.

John Ruiz.

Alonso Fernandez, 5.

For the City of Sevil.

Fernan Gonzalez.

Diego Fernandez.

Garci Perez de Morales, 3.

For Corduba.

Lope Guitierrez.

Peter Vanegas.

Alfonso Yannez, 3.

For Murcia.

John Sanchez de Ayala.

Sancho Rodriguez, 2.

For Jaen.

John Pelais.

Fernan Arias.

Peter Sanchez, 3.

For Abula.

Alfonso Gonzalez.

Sancho Sanchez, 2.

For Salamanca.

Rui Gonzalez.

John Sanchez.

Rui Fernandez.

Rodrigo Yannez.

El Dr. Antony Sanchez.

Alfonso Godinez.

Andrew Dominguez.

Julian Gomez, 8.

For Zamora.

Fernan Rodriguez Espargas.

Ordonno Ruiz.

Perivan de la Rua.

Gomez de Torrez, 4.

For Segovia.

Garci Alfonso de Uvacan.

Fernan Sanchez de Virres, 2.

For Soria.

Garci Alvarez de vera.

Fernan Sanchez.

John de Morales.

Fernan Sanchez de Talavera, 4.

For Valedolid.

John Manso.

Goncalo Numes.

Goncalo Gomez.

Rui Sanchez, 4.

For Placentia.

Garci Goncalos Mariscal.

Diego Gomez de Almarrez, 2.

For Baeza.

Fernan Ruiz Narvar.

Lewis Gonzalez.

John Garcia, 3.

For

For Ubeda.

Michael Ruiz.
Gil Sanchez, 2.

For Toro.

Diego Garcia.
John Numes.
Fernand Gomez.
Alfonso Ruiz, 4.

For Calahorra.

Diego Ximenes Arnedo.
Gonzalez Falcon, 2.

For Oveido.

John Estreuanes, 1.

For Xerez.

Lucas Fernandes de Lo-
cano.
Peter Garcia de Mife-
ria, 2.

For Astorga.

Diego Alvarez, 1.

For Rodrigo.

Sancho Gomez de Ferre-
ra, 1.

For Badajoz.

Gonzalo Sanchez, 1.

For Coria.

Rodrigo de San Millan.
John Alphonso Pany A-
gua, 2.

For Guadalaxara.

John Ortega.
Gorci Lopez, 2.

For Coruna.

Gonzalo Annes Ferrei-
ro, 1.

For Medina del Campo.

Gonzalo Ruiz.
John de San Pedro, 2.

For Cuenca.

Nunmo Gonzalez de Torre.
John Rodriguez de Na-
valtan.
John Sanchez, 3.

For Carmona.

John Martinez de Lea.
Gonzalez Martinez, 2.

For Ezija.

Alfonso Terriandez.
Peter Diaz, 2.

For Vitoria.

Peter Gonzalez.
Peter Garcia, the Son of
Michael Garcia, 2.

For Logrenno.

Gonzalo Garcia, 1.

For Eruxillo.

Fernan Alfonso.
Rui Gutierrez, 2.

For

For Carceres.

Lorenzo Tannes.

Garcia Martinez, 2.

For Cadix.

Sancho Garcia.

Fernan Goncalvez, 2.

For Xeriz.

Goncala Ruiz.

Alonso Sanchez.

John Fernandez de sandoval.

John Garcia, 4.

For Bejar.

Gill Fernandez.

Diego Sanchez, 3.

For Villa Real.

Bartholomew Martinez.

Goncalo Gomez.

Alonso Sanchez, 3.

For Cuellar.

Velasco Perez.

Diego Garcia.

Alonso Garcia, 3.

For Tariff.

John Ramires de Alenmar, 1.

For Huete.

Peter Fernandez Barajas.

Alonso Rodriguez, 2.

For Anduiar.

Alonso Goncalves de Pirego.

John Sanchez, 2.

For Atienca.

Peter Alvares.

Goncalo Sanchez.

Alvar Nunnez, 3.

For Madrid.

John Sondeval.

John Garcia, 2.

For Alcaraz.

Alonso Lope.

Rui Goncalvez, 2.

For St. Sebastian.

Peleguin Gomez.

John de Henéras, 2.

For Sahagun.

Garcia Alfonso.

Fernan Goncalvez, 2.

For Fuente Rubia.

Stephen da Aluda, 1.

These

For

These are the Procurators that were present in this *Cortes*; but whether they be all that belong to that Assembly, I cannot say, having never seen any other List of them but this.

The *Cortes* being met at *Madrid*, on the Day appointed, it was opened with a Speech made by the Archbishop of *Toledo*, who exhorted them to settle the Regency so, that the Kingdoms might not suffer under this, as they had done under some former Minorities.

But tho the *Cortes* began with the Regency, they would not settle it, nor do no other Business, until the Coin of the Kingdoms, which had been rais'd by the King's Grand-father, to the great Damage of the Subjects (as it always is when so rais'd) was brought down to its ancient Standard and Value, which having been done by a Law, on *January* the 21st; on the last Day of the same Month, the whole *Cortes* assembled in the Church of *St. Salvador*, and did by a solemn Act declare, *That the Regency, during the King's Minority, should be in a Council, which they had nam'd; and that the King at sixteen Years should be of Age*; obliging all the Persons nam'd by them to be of that Council, before they acted, to take an Oath to observe the following Ordinances.

- I. *Not to encrease the standing Forces of the Kingdoms above four thousand Soldiers in Garrisons, and fifteen hundred Ginets.*
- II. *That they shall not begin any War without the Consent of the Cortes.*
- III. *That they shall not raise any Money upon the Subject, that has not been given by a Cortes.*
- IV. *That they shall not banish nor put any to Death, before they have been try'd and condemn'd by their proper Judges.*
- V. *That they shall not pardon Murder.*
- VI. *That they shall preserve all the present Alliances, and enter into no new ones, without the Consent of the Cortes.*

The Persons named and appointed by the Cortes to be of this Council, were, Don Fadrique, Duke of Bonaventum, Don Pedro, Conde de Trastamara, Don Peter, Archbishop of Toledo, Don John, Archbishop of Santiago, Don Goncalo Nunnes, Master of Calatrava, Peter Lopez d' Ayala, Alchald of the City of Toledo, Alvar Perez Ossorio, Rui Ponce de Leon, Peter Suarez, Aldelantadi of Leon and Asturias, Garci Goncales, Mariscal.

For the Kingdom of Castile, Garci Ruiz, Sancho Garcia de Medina, and Ruy Sanchez.

For the Kingdom of Toledo, *Perafan de Ribera*, and *John Gaiton*.

For the Kingdom of Leon, *Alfonso Fernandez*, and *Rodrigo de Esparrigos*, and *John Alvarez Maldonada*.

For the Kingdom of Andalusia, *Fernan Goncales*, and *Lope Rodriguez*.

For the Kingdoms of Murcia and Jaen, *John Sanchez de Ayala*, and *John Pelais de Burcio*.

For Estramadura, *Fernan Sanchez de Vervis*, and *Alfonso Goncalez*.

This Council consisted of ten Nobles, and fourteen Commoners, who were Procurators in this *Cortes*. And to make this Charge the easier, one half of each were ordered, until the King was of Age, to attend on him one six Months in the Year; and the other half, the other six Months.

The Regency being thus settled, the King came to the *Cortes*; and having thank'd them for their Care and good Affection, he took the following Oath.

I do

I Do Promise and Swear to maintain, and to cause to be maintained, to all the Nobles, Prelates, Churches, and Masters of the Orders; and to all Cities, Towns and Villages, all the same Privileges, Grants, Franchises, Exemptions, good Usages and Customs, which they enjoy'd in the Reigns of the King my Grand-father, and of the King my Father, and in the same Manner.

A
V I E W
O F A
C O R T E S

Assembled by the same King at
TOLEDO, in the Year 1406.

King Henry II. intending to have a War with the *Moorish* King of *Granada*, who, he said, had broke the Truce that was made betwixt them, in several Particulars, would not begin it until he had advised about it with a *Cortes*. And having to that end call'd one to meet at *Toledo*, on the 29th of *November*, in the Year 1406; it was open'd when it met, by the following Speech, made by the Infante, *Don Fernando*, the King's Brother; the King, tho then at *Toledo*, being so much indispos'd, that he was not able to be present at it in Person.

T O U,

YOU, the Prelates, Condes, Ricoshomes, Procurators, Knights, and Esquires, need not be told that my Lord the King is hindered by Sicknes from coming to you in Person, as he intended; He has therefore commanded me to acquaint you with the Reason of his having called you together at this time, which is to let you know, That upon the King of Granada's having broke the Truce, by denying to restore the Castle of Ayamonte, and to pay the Tribute that is due, he intends to begin a War upon that Barbarian. You are therefore desired to take this Matter into your Consideration; and if you shall judge this War to be just, and for God's, his Majesty's, and his Kingdom's Honour and Service, to consult what Provisions and Forces will be necessary to carry it on with Vigour, and to supply his Majesty with Money sufficient to defray all its Charges.

To this Speech of the Infante's, the following Answer was return'd, in the Name of the whole Cortes, by the Bishop of Sigüenza.

Most Illustrious Lord,

THE Prelates, Condes, Ricoshomes, Procurators, Knights, and Esquires, here assembled, having heard what your Highness has acquainted them with in the King's Name,

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with very great Satisfaction, do all supplicate your Highness, as you are Lord of Lara, and the Judge of all the Nobles, to let them, according to ancient Custom, first have your Opinion of this War, that having your Judgment of its Justice and Conveniency, they may consult together about what has been by you proposed to them in our Lord the King's Name, and may do whatsoever shall be judged to be most convenient.

Upon which Address of the whole *Cortes*, the Infante, as Lord of *Lara*, declared, That he judged the War he had proposed to them to be so just, and so much for God's and his Majesty's Service, that he was ready to serve in it with his whole Force and Estate, and to be the foremost in all Toils and Dangers.

After this Declaration of the Infante's, the War was, after a short Consultation, voted to be both just and holy, by the whole *Cortes*, which also promised to assist the King in it, to the utmost of their Power.

But tho the *Cortes* was unanimous in voting the War, yet when they came to consider how great an Army and Fleet would be necessary to carry it on with Vigour, they were so divided, that the King, lest more time should be lost, sent a Paper to them by Dr. *John Rodriguez*, one of the Procurators

curators of *Salamanca*, wherein was a List of the Forces and Provisions his Majesty judged to be necessary: Which were, ten thousand Lances, four thousand Ginets, and fifty thousand Foot, for the Land Army; and a Fleet of thirty armed Gallies, and fifty Ships of War to guard the *Streights*, and six heavy Canon, a hundred Shot of Powder, two Engines, twelve battering Rams of Iron, a great Number of Spades, twelve Pair of Bellows, and six thousand Waggon.

The *Cortes* having very minutely computed the whole Charge of maintaining such a Fleet and Army for six Months, and of all the other Provisions in the King's Paper, found it would amount to an hundred Millions, and two hundred thousand *Maravedies*; which being judged by them to be a Sum much too great for the Subject to pay, they ordered, That one third should be raised upon the Subject, and that the other third should be taken out of the great Treasure that was in *Oviedo*, and the last third out of the yearly Revenues of the Crown. And a Bill being pass'd accordingly, and presented to the Throne, — the Infante told them, that the King expected to have the whole Charge of the Forces and Provisions contain'd in the Paper he had caused to be laid before them, supply'd

376 *A View of a Cortes Assembled*

by the Subject; all that the King could spare out of his own Treasury and yearly Revenues, being to be employed in the hiring and paying of the foreign Troops, over and above those mention'd in that Paper, which the King intended to make use of.

But the *Cortes* adhering stiffly to their Bill, which, they said, laid more on the Subjects than they were well able to bear, the King at last passed it; but at the same time desired, that in Case the Sum which they had given, should be found not to be sufficient, they would empower him, without assembling a *Cortes*, which would require time, to raise Money upon the Subject, to supply that Deficiency. And tho the giving the King such a Power was fiercely opposed by a great many of the Procurators, as a thing that struck at the very Root of the Authority of a *Cortes*, it was carry'd by a Majority. And tho it was granted only for that Year, yet that was enough to create such a Precedent, as would encourage their future Kings to desire to have the same Power, and to take it very ill if 'twere deny'd them. And by such weak or corrupt Concessions as these it was that the *Spanish Cortes* came to lose all their Authority.

The King (who by having taken from the Cities and great Towns the Power of choosing their own Magistrates, and by se-

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veral other Oppressions, had render'd himself very odious) happening to die before the Members of the *Cortes* had left *Toledo*, they caball'd together to lay aside his Son, who was but a Child, and to bestow the Crown on his Brother the Infante, *Don Ferdinand*, who had always been very popular. But the Infante, when the Crown was offered him in the Name of most of the Nobles, and of all the Commons, by *Rui Lopez de Avila*, Constable of *Castile*, (who was also one of the young King's Governours) generously refused to accept of it, telling the Constable, and the Nobles that were with him, *That neither Covetousness nor Ambition were strong enough in his Breast, to make him do so barbarous and inhumane a thing, as to rob an Orphan, who was also his Nephew, of his Crown.* But the Constable, who would not be put off with this Answer, endeavour'd to perswade the Infante, by the following Speech, to change his Mind.

T H E

THE
Constable's SPEECH.

SIR,

HAVING humbly supplicated you to accept of the Crown of your Father and Grandfather; and withal assured you, that this is so earnestly desired, not only by the Nobles, but by the Body of the People, that you need not fear meeting with any Opposition in it: We, who scorn either to dissemble or flatter, must now tell you farther, That as it is a dishonourable thing to obtain a Crown by vile and base Methods; so to refuse a Crown, when finding it self in Danger, it begs your Protection, looks like Weakness and Cowardice.

Do not the Nature and Origin of all Royal Powers sufficiently teach us, that Crowns, when Reason of State requires it, may lawfully be taken from one, and given to another?

For in the Beginning of the World Men lived scatter'd in the Fields as wild Beasts do now, neither was there any such thing among them as Societies or Communities; only in particular Families, some Respect was paid to those among them, who were in Age and Prudence superiour to the rest; but the Dangers People found themselves exposed to, of being oppress'd

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by the same King at Toledo. 379

by others that were stronger, and the frequent Quarrels which happened among themselves, and with Strangers, were the things that induced them to form themselves into Societies; and to choose one for their Head, who was by his known Valour and Prudence, able to protect and defend them against all others.

This was the Beginning of Societies, and the Origin of all Royal Authority, which in those ancient times was not procur'd by Negotiations and Subornations, but by Temperance, Fortitude, and Integrity. Neither did Royal Authority, in those Days, descend by Inheritance from Father to Son, but it was still given by the Consent of the People; who, when their Prince dy'd, chose one from among themselves to succeed him. For it was nothing but the exorbitant Power of Princes that first made Crowns hereditary, so that they must descend to their Children, tho never so unfit for them. And can any thing be more dangerous, than to have the Arms, the Treasures, and Government of a People committed to one blindfold, and for no other Reason, but because he was the Son of the deceased Prince; by which Means, that which was due to Vertue and Merit only, comes to fall into the Hands of one, that has never given the Publick any Assurance of his being fit to govern them. I shall not make use of remote Examples, to confirm the Truth of this to you.

Upon

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Upon the Death of King Henry I. was not his elder Sister, Donna Blanca, who was married into France, laid aside, and his younger Sister, Donna Berenguela, declar'd Queen? The Wisdom of which Action was made illustrious, by the Sanctity and perpetual Felicity of her Son, Don Ferdinand. Was not the younger Son of Don Alonso the Wise, for the Proofs he had given of his Valour and good Conduct, preferred likewise to the Sons of his elder Brother, Don Ferdinand? But we need go no farther back than your Highness's own Grand-Father, King Henry, who depriv'd his Brother and his Daughters of the Crown; to which, had not this Action of your Grand-Father's been lawful, our deceased King could have had no Title. And in Portugal, did not the Master of Aviz seize on the Crown in the same manner? Whether he did it lawfully or not, is none of our Business to enquire; but certain it is, he has kept it on his Head, against all the Power of Castile. And in Arragon, was not the Crown but the other Day taken from the Daughter of King John, and given to her Uncle, Don Martin, tho he was then in Sicily? In a Word, Has it not been always held just, for the Communities or People, when Necessity required it, to alter any Constitution, tho at first established for the Publick Good?

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by the same King at Toledo. 381

Had we pitch'd on a Stranger, or on one not royally descended, we might then have been blamed for doing such a thing; but who can reckon that we, in our present Circumstances, do amiss, in desiring to have a Prince of the Royal Family for our King, being one, of whose good Government we are so well assured?

Consider therefore how dishonourable a thing it will be for you to slight the universal Affection of this Nation, and to avoid the Trouble and Burden of a Crown, by denying your Country your Protection, at a time when it has so many Difficulties to struggle withal, tho it begs it of you with bended Knees. Grant us therefore but this Request, and we will not, because it is needless, charge you to govern us with your customary Prudence and Temper.

This Speech, tho it had its Policy backed with several ancient Prophecies, and very fresh Visions of the Infante's being King of Castile, could not move him to accept of that Dignity. But he dismiss'd the Constable, and the rest of the Nobles, with telling them, That tho he could not but thank them for their good Will, he was not able, in this Matter, to do them any Service, but only to promise, not to acquaint his Lord the King, nor the Queen Mother, with any such Proposition having ever been made to him.

And

382 *A View of a Cortes, &c.*

And it was not long before this singular Virtue of the Infante's was rewarded; for within six Years after, he was chosen King of *Arragon*, and in less than an hundred Years, the Crown of *Castile* came by Marriage to his Grand-son *Ferdinand*, and is to this Day on the Head of his Posterity.

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A C C O U N T
 O F T H E

Manuscripts and Relicks

Found in the Ruins of the Uninhabitable *Turpian Tower*, in the City of *Granada*, in the Year 1588. And in the Mountain called *Valparayso*, near to that City, in the Year 1595.

Parturient Montes, nascetur ridiculus Mus.

DON Peter de Castro, y Quinones, Archbishop of *Granada*, having in the Year 1588. ordered an old Tower, which was some Nuisance to his Cathedral, to be taken down; the Workmen, in digging amongst its Ruins, lighted

lighted on a Leaden Box ; and having opened it, instead of the Treasure of *Barbary* Gold they expected, they found in it a large Sheet of Parchment written on both Sides, after a very uncouth Fashion, and in it a Piece of Linnen Cloth, about the Bigness of half a Pocket-Hankerchief, and a small Bone.

The Workmen, not knowing what to make of such a conjuring Sortment, for such it must have appear'd to them, lodg'd it all in its Box again ; and having carried it to their Master, the Archbishop, he not skilling such things himself, or at least pretending that he did not, summon'd all the Criticks and Antiquaries that City and Country afforded, to try their Skill upon it.

The Letters in the Manuscripts were alternatively black, and coloured, and the Words were all in Chequers, and so legible, that it was plain at first sight, that in one part of the Writing, the Words were all *Arabic*, and in another part all barbarous and ill spelt *Latin* ; and in the third and greatest part, the Words were all *Spanish*, and the very same that is now spoken : A doughty Evidence of these Manuscripts fifteen hundred Years Antiquity.

But

But notwithstanding the Criticks understood the Signification of every Word in this venerable Manuscript, they could make no Sense of them as they lay, nor perhaps never would, had not its Author, who had been at so much dull Pains to make it mysterious, been so kind as to leave a Key in the Margin, to let the Age into it that should be so happy as to find it; which was done by still skipping over the next Word from the Top to the Bottom, and so back again. And tho by thus hobbling it over, the Criticks could make no very good Sense of it, yet they found its Author's Meaning as well as they could have done, had he placed his Words in their common Order.

At the Top of the Parchment there were five small Crosses within one large Cross.

The first thing in the Writing was a Title in *Arabick*, declaring, that therein was contained, *A Prophecy of St. John the Evangelist, concerning the End of the World.*

The next thing was a Narrative, declaring how *St. Cecilius* came by that Prophecy, and the Linnen Cloth, and the Bone that were in it.

The third thing was a Commentary of *St. Cecilius* upon that Prophecy.

And the last was a Relation of one Father *Patrick*, by whom this Treasure was hid in the Apostles Days.

The PROPHECY of St. John
the Evangelist, concerning
the Consummation of the
World, in the same Words
as it is in the Parchment.

LA edad de la lux, ya commenceda por el Maestro, y con su passion redimida con dolor del cuerpo: y los prophetas passados, quo alumbrados de la tercera persona esperaran su venida.

Del mundo el acabamiento quiero contar, por boca deste Maestro, en la misericordia preferido. A los seys siglos cumplidos de su advenimiento por peccados graves el en mundo, q' cometidas serantinieblas, se levantaran muy escuras, en las orientales partes y a los occidentales se ostenderan por ministros furiosos, q' en ellas seran criados: con q' la lux de nuestro sol se eclipsara; y el templo del Maestro, y su fe, graves persecuciones padeceran: y los quinze siglos cumplidos por los pertinaces coracones endurecidos, segundas tinieblas se levantaran en las partes de aquilon y a ellas un dragon soldra, que por su boca, arroia ra simiente; que sembrada la fee dividira en setas y con la otra iuntada el mundo ocuparan, de las occidentales par-

tes saldrán los tres enemigos, su malicia aumentando por su Maestro la sensualidad traeran y con lepra nunca vista el mundo, se nublacionará la luz en parte diminuta de la tierra se retirará adonde con naufragios sustentada seran en el abrigo de la columna de piedra, con estas senales prodigiosas y otras que el Cielo mostrara el genere humano sera amenazado y en especial el sacerdocio y anunciado el Antichristo, que sera brebe su venida con que esta prophesia se cumplira, y el iuxto final se acercara, quando se manifestara al mundo, esta verdad, verdad, verdad, cumplido, del medio dia saldra el iuez de la verdad, quando le plazera.

This Prophecy render'd into English.

THE Age of the Light now begun by the Master, and with his Passion redeemed with the Pain of his Body: And the past Prophets, who being enlightned by the Third Person, waited for his Coming. I having been preferred in Mercy, will by the Mouth of this Master give an Account of the End of the World. Six Ages being accomplished from his Coming, on account of the grievous Sins of the World; which being committed, will be Darkness, and very great Darkness will arise in the Eastern Parts, which will extend it self to the West by the furious Ministers that are bred therein;

with which the Light of the Sun will be eclipsed, and the Temple of the Master and his Faith will suffer grievous Persecution.

And fifteen Ages being accomplished thorough obstinate and obdurate Hearts, a second Darkness will arise in the *Northern* Parts; out of which will come forth a Dragon, who will throw Seed out of his Mouth, which being sown, will divide the Faith into Sects, which being joined with the other, will spread it self over the World. From the *Western* Parts three Enemies will come forth, who having Sensuality for their Master, and encreasing in their Malice, will infect the World with such a Leprosy as was never seen before; and the Light being much diminished, will retire, but will in its Ship-wrecks be supported, by being under the Protection of the *Pillar of its Stone*.

With these prodigious Signs, and others which Heaven will shew, Mankind will be threatned, and particularly the Priesthood; and Antichrist, whose Coming is at Hand, being manifested, this Prophecy will be accomplished, and the final Judgment will draw near: And when this Truth, Truth, Truth shall be manifested to the World, and accomplished, the Judge of the Truth shall, when he pleaseth, come from the *South*.

The

The NARRATIVE.

ST. Cecilius, to partake of the Merits which are purchased by the visiting of holy Places, santered to Jerusalem; and as he was returning home, having taken Athens in his way, he professed Theology there, according to the Greek Method; but having been so unhappy as to lose his Sight in the Voyage, he continued stone blind, until he had visited Dionysius the Areopagite, who was at that time Bishop of Athens; who having confessed St. Cecilius, and given him the Body of Christ, rubbed his Eyes as soon as Mass was said, with the Handkerchief wherewith the Blessed Virgin had wiped off the Tears mingled with Blood, which were shed by her, when she was present at her Son's Passion.

Dionysius having helped St. Cecilius thus to Eyes, shewed him a Prophecy written in Hebrew by St. John the Evangelist, which had been render'd by him into Greek, concerning the Consummation of the World, and a Bone of the first Martyr St. Stephen. St. Cecilius having by strong Importunity obtained a Copy of this Prophecy, translated it into Spanish, and writ a Commentary upon it in Arabick, which was his Mother Tongue: He obtained likewise one half of the Handkerchief

which had cured him of his Blindness; and the Bone of the first Martyr St. Stephen; all which Relicks he laid together to be preserved until God for the Instruction of Princes should be pleased to discover them to the World.

The next thing is St. Cecilius's Commentary in *Arabick*, which the Inventors have not thought fit to publish, in that, or in any other Language; and all they tell us out of it, is, That by an Age is meant an hundred Years; so that the False Prophet was not to rise in the *East* till after six hundred Years; nor the Diabolical Dragon to appear in the *North* till fifteen hundred Years after Christ's Birth. But they say nothing of the three Enemies in the *West*, nor of the Pillar of its Stone; which are the two things in the Prophecy, that wanted a Commentary most. But as it is plain, that by the False Prophet in the *East*, *Mahomet* is meant; and by the Dragon in the *North*, Dr. *Luther*; so I do much suspect, that Dr. *Egidio*, and Dr. *Constantino*, and Dr. *Caxala*, who were all burnt in *Spain* for being Protestants, in the beginning of the Reign of Philip the II^d. are the Persons meant by three Enemies in the *West*: And as for the Pillar of Stone, though St. Cecilius saith nothing of it in his Commentary, Dr. *Madera*, the Publisher and Champion of these

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Antiquities, saith, That *Spain* is meant by it, and that upon no less Authority, than that of the Prophet *Esaïas*; who speaking of the *Spaniards* in the 24th Chapter of his Prophecy, calls them, *Habitatores Petra*.

St. Cecilius closeth his Commentary with the first seven Verses of *St. John's Gospel*, in *Arabick*, as they are sung in the *Roman Church*, and with this Subscription;

Cecilius Bishop of Granada.

The last thing in this Immortal Vellum, is a Relation in *Latin*, not very classical, tho written in *Nero's Days*, by one Father *Patrick* a Priest.

Father Patrick's RELATION.

Relatio Patricii Sacerdotis, servus Dei. *Cecilius* Episcopus *Granatensis*, cum in *Iberia* esset, & cum videret dierum suorum finem, oculte mihi dixit, se habere pro certo suum martyrium & appropinquare, & utpote qui ille qui in deo amavit, thesaurum suarum reliquiarum mihi commendavit, & me admonuit, ut oculte haberem, & in loco locarem, & ut in

potentiam Maurorum nunquam veniret, affirmans
 esse thesaurum salutis atq; scientia certa & plu-
 rimum laborasse, & iter fecisse terra mariq; & de-
 bere esse in occulto loco, donec Deus velit illum
 manifestare, & ego melius quum intellexi, in
 eo loco clausi ubi jacet, deum rogans ut eum ob-
 servet. Reliquia quæ hic jacent sunt profe-
 ciæ divi Joannis Evangelistæ, medius pan-
 nus quo Virgo Maria absterfit ab oculis lacri-
 mas in passione sui filii sacrati.

Os divi Stevani primi martyris

Deo gratias.

This Relation turned into English.

“ **T**HE Relation of Patrick a Priest,
 “ the Servant of God.
 “ Cecilius Bishop of Granada, being in
 “ Iberia, and seeing the end of his Days
 “ approaching, told me in private, That he
 “ knew for certain, that he should speedi-
 “ ly suffer Martyrdom; and whereas he
 “ loved me in God, he recommended
 “ to me the Treasure of his Relicks,
 “ and charged me to keep it secret, and
 “ to lodge it in a secret Place, that it
 “ might never fall into the hands of the
 “ Moors; affirming it to be a Treasure of
 “ Health

“ Health and certain Knowledge, and that
“ he had been at great Pains, and travelled
“ both by Sea and Land, and that it ought
“ to be kept in a secret Place, until God
“ should be pleased to bring it to light. I to
“ the best of my Knowledge hid it in this
“ Place, beseeching God to keep it. The Re-
“ licks which lie here are, *The Prophecies*
“ of *St. John* the Evangelist, concerning the
“ *End of the World*; half of the Cloth
“ wherewith the Virgin *Mary* wiped the
“ Tears from her Eyes, shed by her at the
“ Passion of her Holy Son; and a Bone of
“ *St. Stephen* the first Martyr. Thanks be
“ to God.

Thus far Father *Patrick*, a proper Name enough for the Relator of such a blind Story, and in truth for the Contriver of this whole Farce, which has not so many Sentences as it has Blunders in it, with clear Evidences of its being supposititious.

But as blind as it is, the discovery of the *Indies* was not entertained in *Spain* with greater joy than this Discovery was; but chiefly in the City and Kingdom of *Granada*; which having been recovered out of the hands of the *Moors* long after all the other *Spanish* Provinces, had but a poor stock of Relicks; the Treasures which above all others, the *Spanish* Cities and Towns do value

lue themselves upon: A famous Miracle-working Relick being of more advantage to any place that has it, than twenty Fairs.

The *Gulicians*, whole true Legend of *St. James of Compostella*, stood in great need of some ancient Evidence, rejoiced extremely as its having received so Authentick a Confirmation.

One good Effect however, tho it was not miraculous, this Discovery had; which was, that it furnished the *Spaniards* with something else to think and talk of, besides the loss of their great Armado, which happened the same Year.

This Invention having succeeded so well, gave Encouragement to new Adventures; and a Report having been spread abroad, That a prodigious Treasure of Gold and Jewels had been hid by the Moors in a Mountain called *Valparaiso*, about half a Mile from the City of *Granada*; the People, after having received the best Directions, which were to be had from cunning Men, went to work in some of its Caverns, which it was very full of; where they had not dug long, before they met with a Plate of Lead, with the following Inscription upon it:

Corpus ustum Divi Mesitonis Martiris, passus est, sub Neronis Imperatoris potentatu.

The burnt Body of *St. Mesiton*, who suffered in the Reign of the Emperor *Nero*.

This

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This Relick being carried to the Archbishop, he was so transported with Joy, that he resolved to spare for no Cost, nor Pains, to find the Ashes of this burnt Martyr; and having set all hands to work, the teeming Mountain was on the 28th of March, 1595, delivered of a second Plate, with the following Inscription upon it.

Anno secundo Neronis Imperii, Marci Calendis passus fuit Martirium in hoc loco illupulitano electus ad hunc effectum sanctus Hiscius Apostoli Jacobi decipus cum suis Discipulis Turillo, Panuncio, Marenio, Centulio, per medium ignem in quo vivi ambugi fuerunt eternam vitam petentibus transiere, ut lapides in calcem conversi fuerint; quorum pulvers in hujus sacri montis cavernis jacent, qui ut ratio postulat in eorum memoriam veneretur.

“ In the second Year of Nero’s Empire,
“ on the Kalends of March, St. Hiscius a
“ Disciple of the Apostle St. James, elected
“ of God for this purpose, suffered Mar-
“ tyrdom in this place of Illupulia, with
“ his Disciples Turillus, Panuncius, Mara-
“ nus, and Centulius, passing thorough the
“ midst of the Fire wherein they were
“ burnt alive, to Life eternal, and being
“ burnt as Stones are to Lime. Their Dust
“ is lodged in the Caverns of this holy
“ Moun-

“ Mountain ; which, as Reason requires,
 “ ought to be had in Veneration in Memo-
 “ ry of them.

On the 10th of *April* of the same Year,
 the Workmen, as they were digging after
 this great Vein of Ashes, did light on a
 third Plate of the same Metal, with the
 following Inscription upon it.

*Anno secundo Neronis Imperii Kalendis
 Aprilis passus est Martirium in hoc loco illupi-
 tito, Thesiphon dictus priusquam converteretur
 Abenathar, divi Jacobi Apostoli discipulus,
 vir literis & sanctitate praditus, plumbi tabulis
 exscripsit librum illum, Fundamentum Ec-
 clesiæ appellatum, & simul passi sunt sui disci-
 puli, dius Maximinus, Luparius, quorum pul-
 vis & liber sunt cum pulveribus divorum Mar-
 tyrum in hujus sacri mont. cavernis in eorum
 memoriam veneretur.*

“ In the second Year of *Nero's* Empire, on
 “ the First of *April*, *St. Thesiphon* (who be-
 “ fore he was converted was named *Abena-*
 “ *ther*) suffered Martyrdom in this Place of
 “ *Illupulis*. He was a Disciple of the Apostle
 “ *St. James*, and was endowed with Learning
 “ and Sanctity. He transcribed into Tables
 “ of Lead, the Book called, *The Foundation*
 “ of the Church ; and with him suffered
 “ *Maximinus* and *Luparius*. His Dust and
 “ Book,

" Book, with the Dust of divers Martyrs, are
" in the Caverns of this holy Mountain,
" and let them be revered in Memory
" of them.

After so many Notices of so great a Treasure of Martyr's Ashes, the Workmen at last came to a large Cavern, which looked like a Prison or Dungeon, wherein they met with a great many Bones, and with Lumps of Earth of a whitish Colour, which were judg'd to be the Ashes of the Martyrs; who, in one of the Plates, were said to have been burnt like Stones into Lime. This Dungeon supply'd the Church of *Granada*, which before had few or no Relicks, with more ancient sacred Bones and Ashes, than all the Churches in *Spain* had besides. But as Covetousness has no Bounds, they went on still with their Work, and on the 21st of *April* they met with a leaden Box, wherein was a Book with this Title—

Liber Fundamenti Ecclesie Salomonis characteribus scriptus; A Book of the Foundation of the Church, written in the Characters of *Salomon*.

So ancient a Manuscript, and upon so great a Subject, not having been published all this while, and nothing having been ever quoted out of it, one cannot but think that either the *Spanish* Criticks, who have it in their keeping, do not know how to deci-

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decipher Salomon's Characters, or that there
is nothing in this Book, that favours the Pa-
pal Supremacy in the Church.

But tho this ancient Manuscript has ne-
ver been once quoted, one of the same
Antiquity, and found at the same time, and
in the same Place, has been quoted frequent-
ly; and that to decide a Controversy which
the Pope himself dare not mount his infalli-
ble Chair to determine, tho solicited to do
it by a splendid Embassy sent to him by the
King of Spain solely for that Purpose.

This Manuscript is in *Arabick*, and was
writ by St. Cecilius: Its Title is, —

De Domo Gloria & Domo Tormenti.

Of the House of Glory, and the
House of Torment.

In this Book, after divers high Encomi-
ums of the Blessed Virgin Mary, is found
the following Definition, made by all the
Apostles, of her immaculate Conception.

*Illa Virgo Maria, illa sancta, illa electa, a
primo originarioq; peccato preservata fuit,
atq; haec veritas Apostolorum Concilium est;
quam qui negaverit, maledictus & excommu-
nicatus erit, & salutem non consequetur, sed
in aeternum damnabitur.*

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" The Virgin Mary, the Holy, the Elect,
" was preserved from the first and origi-
" nal Sin, and was free from all Guilt.
" This Truth is decreed by the Apostles met
" in a Council. And whosoever shall deny
" it, is accursed, excommunicated, and shall
" not acquire Salvation, but shall be damned
" for ever.

It was an unhappy thing for these Manuscripts and Relicks that this Apostolical Definition was found in their Company; for had it not been for this Definition, their Truth and Authority had never been question'd by any Person in Spain; and the Dominicans, who, where they dare do it, do now call them late and gross Impostures, would have been their boldest Champions.

The Vein of Manuscripts holds out still; and on the 25th of April a Box covered with thick Lead was found, and in it a Book written on leaden Plates, with the following Title.

Liber de Essentia Dei, quem Divus Thiphon Apostoli Jacobi discipulus in sua naturali lingua Arabica, Salomoni characteribus scripsit; & alium, Fundamentum Ecclesie appellatum, qui in hujus sacri Montis Cavernis jacer.

Deus

Deus a Nerone Imperatore hos duos liberet libros. Imposuit finem hic suis operibus scribens miracula & vite integritatem sui magistri—vi in hujus sacri montis ea est.

“ A Book of the Essence of God, which
 “ St. *Thisiphon*, a Disciple of *James* the A-
 “ postle, writ in his own natural Tongue,
 “ which was *Arabick*, in *Salomon's* Chara-
 “ cters; and another called, *The Foundation*
 “ of the Church, which is in the Caverns of
 “ this holy Mountain.

“ God deliver these two Books from *Nero*
 “ the Emperor. He put an end to his Works,
 “ writing the Miracles ——— of his Master
 “ ——— who is in the ——— Caverns of this
 “ holy Mountain.

I do suspect that the Storm, the pretend-
 ing to have St. *James's* Body in their *Gran-
 aa* Mountain would have brought upon
 all these new found Relicks from *Compo-
 stella*, and all the other Quarters of *Spain*,
 was the thing that made all the Chasms at
 the end of this Writing. For it is pretty
 plain from the remaining Pieces of Words,
 that when they were entire, they said, that
 the Body of *Thisiphon's* Master, who was
 St. *James* the Apostle, was buried in the
 Caverns of this holy Mountain. So that
 had not the Finders of these Manuscripts
 and Relicks had more Judgment than
 the

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the Forgers of them, their Credit had been ruined for ever in *Spain* by this single Indiscretion.

For tho some poor Churches rather than go to Law, and spend a great deal of Money at *Rome*, have suffered such Differences to be composed by the common Miracle of multiplying the same individual Body, so that they all had it; *Compostella* is both too rich, and has its Title to St. *James's* Body too strongly guarded by a numerous Order of valiant Knights, to have stoop'd to so common an Expedient.

And this they who had the Examination of these Manuscripts, when they were first found, knew very well, and so did very discreetly obliterate that bold Pretence, contenting themselves with what they knew *Compostella* would be willing to allow them, that is, the Bones and Ashes of that Apostle's Disciples; which had they pretended to more, would never have been allowed them.

I cannot understand how the Church would have suffered much had this Book, with the Title of *its Foundation*, and its Companion, fallen into *Nero's* Hands, and been destroy'd by him; against which he that hid them prays, as if it would have been the greatest Loss the Church could have sustained.

On the 30th of April the Basket was pinned with a Plate of Lead, with the following Inscription upon it.

*Anno secundo Neronis Imp. Kalendis Februarii passus est Martyriam in hoc ——— tano
divus Cecilius sancti Jacobi discipulus, vir
literis linguis & sanctitate praeclitus, Prophe-
tias divi Joannis commentavit, quae sunt pos-
sae cum aliis reliquiis in sublimi parte inhabita-
bilis turris Turpiane, sicut dixerunt mihi sui
discipuli divi Setentrius & Patricius, qui cum
illo paci sunt quorum pulveres jacent in unum
sacri montis cavernis in quorum memoriam ve-
neretur.*

“ In the second Year of the Empire of
“ Nero, on the Kalends of February, St.
“ Cecilius, a Disciple of St. James, suffered
“ Martyrdom in this Place of Ilipulis, a
“ learned Linguist and an holy Man : He
“ commented upon all the Prophecy of St.
“ John the Apostle ; which Commentaries,
“ with other Relicks, are lodged in the
“ high part of the uninhabitable Turpian
“ Tower, as I was told by his Disciples
“ St. Setentrius and Patrick, who suffered
“ with him, and whose Duffs do lie in the
“ Caverns of a certain Mountain, which
“ in Memory of them ought to be vene-
“ rated.

This

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This Plate helps us to the Name of the Tower, wherein the first Relicks were found, and tells us farther, that it was then uninhabitable; but it does not tell what made it to be so, neither is it easy to guess, since it could not well have been ruinous 1500 Years before it was taken down; and haunted it could not be, having so sacred a Treasure lodged in it.

This Collection of Manuscripts being unanimously judged to be genuine by all the Antiquaries and Criticks in Lead and Parchment, as well as in Words, Phrases and History, the Archbishop caused a *Te Deum* to be sung with great Solemnity in his Cathedral, for the finding of so inestimable a Treasure; which, after it had been magnify'd by the Preachers, as the greatest Largess any City had ever receiv'd from Heaven, the Peoples Devotion for the Mountain, which had been delivered of so blessed a Treasure, was so great, that in a short time there were above four hundred Crosses erected upon it; neither would the People have rested there, but would have had Altars likewise set up, and Masses said upon them, had not their Zeal been restrain'd by the Archbishop, until the Mountain was judicially, and according to the Canonical Forms, declared to be holy Ground.

And to that end, the Archbishop sent a full Narrative of the whole Matter to Pope *Clement* the VIIIth. from whom he receiv'd a special Commission to call an Assembly to determine it. But before the meeting of that Assembly, the *Dominicans*, who, should those Manuscripts be judged genuine, were by the Apostles accursed, excommunicated, and damned to the Pit of Hell, for denying the Immaculate Conception of the blessed Virgin, muster'd all their Forces, and made such Objections against them, as one would think should so far have ruined their Credit, as to make it impossible for one of common Sense, and much more for an Assembly of wise and learned Men, to judge them to be genuine, and of fifteen hundred Years standing.

The first Objection was, That the Prophecy which was found in the Tower, was in true modern *Spanish*; a Language that was no where in the World for some hundreds of Years after *Nero's* Death.

The second Objection was, That *St. Cecilius* is called in them, Bishop of *Granada*; whereas there was no such Bishoprick, nor no such City, in a great many hundred Years after *Nero's* Death; *Granada* having been built, and named so by the *Moors* 700 Years after *Nero's* Time; neither was it
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ever a Bishoprick till it was made so by *Ferdinand* and *Isabel*, above 1400 Years after *Nero*.

The third Objection was, That in the Writings the *Moors* are named as then in *Spain*, so that the Writings were in Danger of falling into their Hands; whereas it was 700 Years after the Death of *Nero* before the *Moors* came into *Spain*.

The fourth was, That *Arabick* was a Language not known, either in *Barbary* or in *Spain*, till above 500 Years after the Death of *Nero*.

The fifth was, That the Titles of *Divus* and *Sanctus* were not given to Christians in the Apostles Days, nor in a great many Years after, especially not whilst they were alive.

The sixth was, That the fourteen first Verses of the Gospel of *St. John*, as they are sung in the *Roman* Offices, are in this Writing; which Gospel was not writ till several Years after *Nero's* Death.

The seventh was, That *St. Stephen's* Body was not found before the Reign of the Emperor *Honorius*, who was 300 Years after *Nero*.

The eighth was, That the Holy Ghost was not called the Third Person till after the Apostle's Days.

The ninth was, That such a fantastical way of Writing was late, and unworthy of the Gravity of *St. Cecilius*.

The tenth was, That the whole had the Air of a Fraud in it very sensibly.

These were the Objections which were made against the Writings found in the uninhabitable *Turpian Tower*.

Neither were the Objections made against those which were found in the Mountain less unanswerable.

The first Objection was, That all Historians do agree, that there was no Persecution in the second Year of *Nero*.

The second was, That it is certain that *Illipula* was not near the Place where *Granda* stands.

The third was, That the Mountain wherein these Relicks were found, having been the Place where publick Malefactors were put to Death and buried, there was Cause to believe that the Bones and Ashes which had been found in them, were the Relicks of the publick Malefactors.

The fourth was, That the ancient Book, call'd *Fundamentum Ecclesiæ*, was condemned a thousand Years before by Pope *Gelasius*, as spurious.

The fifth was, That the Word *Essentia*,
as

as it is here used, was a Term lately devised by the Schoolmen.

The sixth was, That St. *Hiscius* having been called *Abenathar* before he was converted, and St. *Thesiphon* having writ in *Arabick*, and in the Characters of *Salomon*, has the Air of an idle Tale.

The last was, that the Words, the Phrase, and the spelling of the *Latin* in these Manuscripts are so barbarous and false, that they must have been written a great many hundred Years after *Nero's* Death.

To these Objections which were made in *Spain*, several others may be added.

1. That the whole of this blundring Imposture stands upon the Story of St. *James* the Apostle's having been in *Spain*, and having made a great many Disciples there; which is as gross a Fiction, as any in the *Roman* Legends; and was condemned as such by an Archbishop of *Toledo* when it was first broached, which was a thousand Years after the Apostles Days.

2. There are several Doctrines found in these Writings, which were not hatched till some hundreds of Years after the Death of the Apostles; as its being meritorious to visit holy Places, Transubstantiation, auricular Confession, the immaculate Conception, &c.

Lastly, none of the Persons named in these Writings were ever heard of in a great many hundred Years after the Apostles Days; and some of them, as *Centurius*, *Luparius*, *Patrick*, &c. were never heard of before the time of this Discovery.

I shall give the Reader only a Taste of the Answers returned by Dr. *Madera* to some of these Objections.

One Answer is, That the *Spanish* Language was the very same as it is now; not only in *Nero's* Days, but before any *Roman* ever came into *Spain*.

Another is, That the City of *Granada* was in being, and was a Bishoprick, and was called by that Name in the Apostles Days.

A third is, That *Arabick* was a Language used in *Spain* and *Barbary*, long before they were conquered by the *Arabs*.

And a fourth is, That St. *John's* Gospel was written before the second Year of *Nero*, and that in that Year there was a great Persecution.

All which are such monstrous Absurdities, that one would not think it possible, for a Person of any knowledge in Antiquity, to affirm them to be Truths. And yet Dr. *Madera*, who was a very learned Man, does it, and with an Assurance which no Truths that are not undeniably attested can lay Claim to; only in his Preface where he

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speaks of the Disposition of Mind, that is necessary to the passing of a true Judgment on such sacred Antiquities; he seems to have had some Misgivings about them, in exhorting all that would judge aright of such Matters, not to suffer Thoughts to arise in their Hearts against them; that is to say, they must not allow themselves the liberty to think of any thing, that would shake their implicate Belief of them.

Now it is by this very Course that all sensible *Roman Catholicks* are kept from discovering the gross Falshood of *Transubstantiation*, and of divers other Errors and pretended Facts, even that vile Bondage of Thought which the *Roman Church* keeps her Sheep under, and which is her chief Security.

But though they whose Minds stand thus affected to any thing, do not disbelieve it, because they are resolved not to suffer their Minds to do that, yet they cannot be said to believe it, any farther, than a forced not disbelieving; is believing.

And how acceptable such a Belief, if it deserves that Name, even when its Objects happen to be true, can be to God, who requires a reasonable Service from his reasonable Creatures, I leave to any one to judge.

And as the Answers returned by the Champions of these Manuscripts and Relicks

licks to the Objection which had been made against them, are monstrously absurd, so their Arguments to prove them to be genuine, are of the same Stamp.

One of their *Arguments* is, That these Manuscripts and Relicks have as strong Evidences of their being true, as those had which were found after the same manner at Corduba, or as those of St. *Placidius*, found in *Sicily*.

I believe this may be true; and if it would have given any strength to their *Argument*, they might justly have added, and as those of *Compostella*, and of the itinerant Chappel of *Loretto*, and as an hundred more, which are all equally kept in credit, by pure dint of Forehead, or by Bondage of Thought.

Their 2d *Argument* is, That if these Writings were supposititious, they must have been forged either by a *Mahometan*, an *Heretick*, or a *Catholick*: The two first, as great Friends as they are to Forgeries of this Nature, would not forge Writings which should condemn their own Sects; and as for a *Catholick*, he is not capable of so ill a thing as the counterfeiting of Writings, and putting Saints Names to them.

It will easily be granted, that the *Mahometan* and *Heretick* had no hand in these Writings; but that a *Roman Catholick* is

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not capable of doing such things, and of reckoning it to be meritorious, cannot be granted so easily; such pious Frauds as these having never been used so much by all the Sects of Religion put together, or with so good Success, as by the *Roman* Church and her Members, for some hundreds of Years.

The 3d *Argument* is, That they have proved themselves genuine by the vast Multitude of Miracles which have been wrought by them, since they were discovered.

What strange Infidels does this Argument make the *Dominicans*, who live in *Granada*, to be, who will not be convinced by so many Miracles wrought under their Noses? But since in Disputes among themselves, when innumerable Miracles are by both sides affirmed to have been wrought, in Favour of their contrary Causes, that Pretence is by both rejected with Scorn and Contempt. Why may not such a Pretence in this Case, deserve to be treated by others in the same manner? However, there is one thing, would the Patrons of these Relicks be perswaded to it, that would help them to more Credit in the World, than their giving out that they have wrought a thousand Miracles in *Granada*, and that is, if they cannot spare them all, to send one

one of 'em to work but one single Miracle on the *Exchange* of *London* or of *Amsterdam*; for, whatever they may think, it is no small Prejudice to the Reputation of the innumerable Miracles, which are confidently said to be wrought daily by the Relicks in the *Roman Church*, in Confirmation of their own Truth, and of several of that Church's Doctrines, that it is their constant ill Fate to be wrought no where, but among those who do not want their Testimony, but never among those that do.

But their Last (and in *Spain* unanswerable) Argument is, the following solemn and unanimous Decision made in their Favour, by the Archbishop of *Granada*, in a full Assembly of *Ecclesiasticks* and *Laicks*, called together for that Purpose.

In the Name of our Lord Jesus Christ.

WE, Don Peter de Castro, by the Grace of God, and the Holy Apostolick See, Archbishop of *Granada*, and Counsellor to his Majesty, with the Assent of the most Reverend Prelates, Don John de Fonseca, Bishop of *Guadis*, and one of his Majesty's Council, our Com-Provincial and Suffragan, and Don Sebastian

Quin-

Manuscripts and Relicks, &c. 413

Quintero, Bishop of Galipoli, and Don
Alfonso de Mendoza, Abbot of Alcala la
real.

Having examined all the Relicks
which were found at the taking down of a
most ancient Tower in this our Church,
in the Year 1588. as also all those which
were found in the Mountain near this Ci-
ty, called *Valparayso*, in the Year 1595.
and the Cognisance and Approbation of
such things belonging to us by common
Right, and by the Council of *Trent*, as
also by a special Commission from our
most Holy Father, *Clement VIII.* And ha-
ving seen a Process concerning this Matter,
and examin'd all the Informations, Con-
firmations, and Researches, which have
been made therein; and having consulted
and deliberated with most learned and
pious Men, as well Divines as of all other
Faculties whom we have assembled; and
having done every thing else that was
necessary, or that seemed to be conve-
nient:

We being all unanimous, do with one
Mind and Sense declare what we ought;
and we do declare, define and pronounce
the said Relicks contain'd in this Process,
to wit, the half of the Cloath wherewith
our Lady, the Glorious Virgin *Mary*,
wiped off her Tears, shed at the Passion of
her

' her Son, our Redeemer; and the Bone of
 ' St. *Stephen* the first Martyr, to be, and
 ' they truly are, half the Handkerchief of
 ' our Lady, and the Bone of the first Mar-
 ' tyr, St. *Stephen*; and to have been hid,
 ' shut up, and kept within the Wall of a
 ' most ancient Tower, which stood in the
 ' Place whereon the chief Church of this
 ' City was built, having been put into a
 ' Leaden Box, foder'd within and without:
 ' In which Box there was likewise a Rela-
 ' tion of one *Patrick*, a Priest, written in
 ' very ancient Parchment; which declares,
 ' that the said Relicks were there, and that
 ' they had been hid by the Command
 ' of St. *Cecilius*: All which was found
 ' in the said Leaden Box, in the said Year
 ' 1588. on the 19th of *March*, being Sa-
 ' turday, the Day of St. *Joseph*, in the
 ' taking down and demolishing the said
 ' Tower.

' And we do likewise declare, define and
 ' pronounce the Bones, Ashes, Dust, and
 ' the white Clods, which in the Year 1595.
 ' were found within the Caverns of the
 ' said Mountain, called *Valparayso*, to be
 ' the true Relicks of the Holy Martyrs,
 ' who are now enjoying God, and are
 ' reigning with him in Heaven; to wit,
 ' of the Holy Martyrs, St. *Cecilius*, St. *His-*
 ' *cins*, and St. *Thefiphon*, the Disciples of the
 ' Blessed

Manuscripts and Relicks, &c. 415

‘ Blessed Apostle, St. James, Son of Zebedee ;
‘ as also of St. Septentrio, and of Patrick,
‘ the Disciples of St. Cecilius, and of St. Tu-
‘ rillus, Panuncius, Maranius, Centulius, the
‘ Disciples of St. Hiscius, and of St. Maxi-
‘ minus and Luparius, the Disciples of
‘ St. Thesiphon ; as also of Mesiton, and that
‘ all the said Saints, Cecilius, Hiscius, and
‘ Thesiphon, and all their said Disciples, and
‘ St. Mesiton, did suffer Martyrdom, and
‘ were all burnt alive within the Caves and
‘ Caverns of the said Mountains, for Je-
‘ sus Christ our Redeemer, and for his
‘ Holy Catholick Faith, and for preach-
‘ ing and publishing of the Holy Go-
‘ spel, in the Second Year of the Empire
‘ of Nero.

‘ St. Cecilius and his Disciples on the first
‘ of February ; St. Hiscius and his Disciples,
‘ on the first of March, having been burnt
‘ as Stones turned into Lime ; and St. The-
‘ siphon and his Disciples on the first of April,
‘ as is declared and shewed by four Plates
‘ of most ancient Lead, written in the La-
‘ tin Tongue, in most ancient Characters,
‘ and some other Instruments of most an-
‘ cient Lead ; all which were inclosed and hid
‘ within the said Caverns until now, that
‘ we found them in the said Year 95 ; all
‘ which is manifest, and is resolved and
‘ confirmed by this Process, God having al-
‘ so

‘ so demonstrated and proved the same by
 ‘ many Miracles.

‘ In consequence whereof we do declare,
 ‘ That the said Relicks ought to be receiv’d,
 ‘ honoured, venerated, and adored, with
 ‘ due Honour and Worship, as the true
 ‘ Relicks of our Lady, and of the said Mar-
 ‘ tyrs, who do reign with our Lord God,
 ‘ according as the *Roman Catholick Church*
 ‘ useth to venerate the Relicks of Saints;
 ‘ and that they ought to be publickly
 ‘ shewed to Christian People, and to all the
 ‘ Faithful for that Purpose, that all may in-
 ‘ vocate them.

‘ And we with all these here assembled
 ‘ do so receive and venerate them; and
 ‘ we do command, that they be all put
 ‘ in a safe Place, such as shall be judged
 ‘ by us or our Successors to be most de-
 ‘ cent.

‘ And we do farther declare the said Place,
 ‘ and Mountain of *Valparayso*, in whose Ca-
 ‘ verns all the said Saints suffered Martyr-
 ‘ dom, to be a holy and sacred Place, which
 ‘ ought to be honoured and venerated, as
 ‘ the said Plates do command, in Memory
 ‘ of the said Saints, who suffer’d Martyr-
 ‘ dom in them, and to enjoy all the Pre-
 ‘ rogatives, which are by common Right,
 ‘ and by the Canons given to such sacred
 ‘ Places. And we do command this to be
 ‘ ob.

‘ observed; and by this our Sentence we do
‘ so pronounce and command, and do sign
‘ it with our Name, and seal it with our
‘ Hanging Seal.

Peter de Castro
Archiep. Granat.

S. Episcopus Galipol.
Subscripsi.

Joannes Episcop.
Guadix.

Alphonfus Abbas
Subscripsi.

‘ We the Lords of the Royal Audience,
‘ and Chancery of his Majesty residing in
‘ this City, having been named by his
‘ Lordship the Lord Archbishop, and be-
‘ ing here present, do subscribe and sign it.
‘ Licentiate *Peter Mallem de Rueda*, Dr. *Anto-*
ny Burrab, Dr. *Antony Corriero*, Li. *Don*
Ochao de Lugando, Li. *Don John de Cu-*
niga, Li. *Don Baltasar de Lovencana*, *Don*
John de St. Vincente, Li. *Don Francis de*
Teiada y Mendoca, Li. *Greyory Lopez Ma-*
dera.

‘ For the most illustrious Archbishop of
‘ *Santiago*, Li. *Don John de St. Clemente*
‘ Archdeacon of *Neodes*; Li. *Alonso Lo-*
pez, Canon: For the Dean and Chap-
‘ ter of the said Metropolitan Church of
‘ *St. Jago*; Dr. *Luke Alonso de Castro*, Arch-
‘ deacon of *Voux*, and Canon: For the

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‘ Dean

' Dean and Chapter of the Holy Church
 ' of Corduba, *Don Rodrigo velarde de Morillon* ;
 ' *Dr. Diego Lopez de Fromesta*, *John de Riaca*
 ' *de Caneto*, *Dr. Alvare de Cardenas* : For
 ' the Dean and Chapter of the Holy Church
 ' of Guadix, *Dr. Don James de Sancta Cruz*.
 ' *Saaveda*, Chantor ; *Li. Christopher San-*
 ' *chez de Soto*, Doctoral Canon. For his
 ' Lordship and the Dean and Chapter of
 ' the Metropolitan Church of Granada,
 ' were present *Dr. Don Peter Guerrero*,
 ' Treasurer ; *Li. Don Peter de Molina*,
 ' Doctoral Canon, and Professor of Canon
 ' Law, and Apostolical Inquisitor ; *Li.*
 ' *Don George de Texerina*, Dean ; *Dr. Don*
 ' *Lewis de Castilla*, Archdeacon ; *Dr. Don*
 ' *Lewis de Raya*, School-Master ; *Dr. Don*
 ' *John de la Canal*, Prior ; *Dr. Don Fran-*
 ' *cis Pacleco*, Canon and Professor of the
 ' Scripture ; *Dr. Don Goncalo Sanchez Lu-*
 ' *zeno Magistral*, Canon and Professor of
 ' Divinity ; *Li. Justin Antolinez de Burgos*,
 ' Provisor and Vicar General of Granada.
 ' For the most Reverend the Bishop of
 ' Alemeria, *Dr. Peter Martinez de Espinoza*,
 ' Chaplain of the Royal Chappel ; Fryar
 ' *John Ramirez*, Provincial and Definidor
 ' General, and Consultor of the Holy Of-
 ' fice of the Order of St. Francis : Fryar
 ' *James Ocon*, *Dr. Provincial*, and Vicar
 ' General of the Order of the most Holy
 ' Tri-

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‘Trinity; *Francis de Quesada*, Provincial
 ‘of the Society of *Jesus*; Fryar *John de*
 ‘*Polanco*, Prior of the *Carthusians*; Fryar
 ‘*Vincent Cano Valenceula*, Master of Divi-
 ‘nity, and Prior of *Sancta Cruz la real*;
 ‘Fryar *Fuftero*, M. Guardian of *St. Fran-*
 ‘*cis*; *Peter de Vargas*, Rector of the So-
 ‘ciety of *Jesus*; Master Fryar *Hernando*
 ‘*de Peralta*, of the Order of *St. Austin*;
 ‘Master Fryar *Francis de Segoria*, of the
 ‘Order of *St. Hierom*; Fryar *John Rome-*
 ‘*ra*, Master and Rector of the Study of
 ‘*Santa Cruz de Real* of *Granada*; Master
 ‘Fryar *Francis Nunes*, the Chief Preacher
 ‘of the Convent of *St. Austin* in *Granada*;
 ‘Master Fryar *Peter de Medina*, Professor
 ‘of Divinity, and Definitor of *Andalusia*, of
 ‘the Order of the Mercy; *Thomas Sanchez*,
 ‘a Theologue, and a professed of the Socie-
 ‘ty of *Jesus*; *Mart de Castillo*, M: of Di-
 ‘vinity, and Rector of the *Jesuits* Col-
 ‘lege in *Sevil*; *Austin Quiresius*, a Theo-
 ‘logue of the Society of *Jesus*.

Note, That tho there are Fryars of all other
 Orders among these Subscribers, there is not
 one of the Dominican; the Eyes of that
 Order, which in all such Matters are com-
 monly shut as close as any others, having
 been opened as to this, by the Apostoli-
 cal Definition of the immaculate Concep-

tion, which was found among these Manuscripts.

The glorious Victory bold Authority here had over Learning, Reason, and common Sense, plainly demonstrates how little Regard, in Matters of Religion, is due to the Determinations of any Assembly, that holds it to be lawful, if not meritorious, to lie for God, by making use of pious Frauds for the Encouragement of Devotion, let such Assemblies be never so numerous, and the Persons they consist of be never so eminent for Wisdom and Learning, and for Integrity too in all other Cases. For could any thing but that vile Opinion's having reigned in this Assembly, ever have made so many Persons of great Wisdom and Learning, and in such high Posts, so far to have disgraced their Judgments, and prostituted their Consciences, as solemnly, and as in the Sight of God, to pronounce Writings, which are so palpably spurious, and but of Yesterday, to be genuine, and of fifteen hundred Years standing.

For that all these Manuscripts were forged and hid, after the City of *Granada* was in the Year 1492, recover'd from the *Moors*, is too notorious for any one that is able to read them, to doubt. And
if

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if by the *three Enemies in the West*, mentioned in the Prophecy, Dr. *Egidio*, Dr. *Constantine*, and Dr. *Cazala*, are meant, as it is more than probable they are, these Manuscripts must not then have been forty Years old when they were found; those three great Glories of *Spain*, for Learning, Zeal, and Piety, not having been taken up by the Inquisition for being Protestants, until after the Year 1550.

But though the Manuscripts are all palpably very modern, it is not improbable that the Relicks of Bones and Ashes may be as ancient as the Plates say they are; the Caverns wherein they were found having been the burying Place of publick Malefactors in the times of the *Romans*.

Neither is it any new thing, that the Bones and Ashes of such should come to be venerated, and being visited with great Devotion, that they should be reckon'd to work Miracles; the Complaint, that some whose Souls were in Hell, had their Bodies or some part of them venerated on Earth, being near as ancient as the Superstition of venerating Relicks. And let Relicks be whose they will, when they are visited by great Multitudes of People with Devotion, for the Recove-

ry of their Health, unless none that visit them do ever recover, which in such Multitudes would be a Miracle indeed, they will infallibly be reckoned to have wrought Miracles.

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P O R T U G A L :

With a LIST of the Prisoners that came forth in an Act of the Faith celebrated at *Lisbon*, in the Year 1682.

THE Court of Inquisition, which in *Portugal* is commonly called, *The Holy Office*, and *The Holy House*, consists of an *Inquisitor General*, the *Supreme Council*, *Inquisitors*, *Assessors*, *Qualificators*, a *Secretary*, an *Advocate Fiscal*, a *Treasurer*, *Familiars*, and *Goalers*.

The Inquisitor General, who is commonly called the *Inquisidor Mor*, is named by the King, but confirmed and authorized by the Pope, to act as his Delegate. He lives constantly at *Lisbon*, in an House in the Inquisition, which belongs to his Office. It is a Place of so great Dignity and Profit, that the Cardinal *Infante Don Henry*, and *Albert* Cardinal, Archduke of *Austria*, were in it, and *Don Verissimo Alencastro* left the Primacy of *Braga* for it.

The Counsellors of the Supreme Court are all named by the *Inquisitor Major*, but must before they act have the King's approbation. This Council sits constantly twice at *Lisbon*.

The Inquisitors, who are commonly Secular Priests, do belong either to the Supreme Court which is fixed at *Lisbon*, or to the Inquisitions of *Conimbra*, *Ebora*, or *Goa* in the *East Indies*, which Courts have all the same inferiour Officers, and Stiles, and have all their Acts of the Faith.

The Assessors are Divines, Civilians, and Canonists, which are consulted by the Inquisitors in all difficult Cases.

The Qualificators are employed in correcting and amending of Books, and are commonly *Dominican Fryars*.

It to be hoped, the *Heresy of Doctrines* is better understood by these Qualificators, than

than the Etymology of the Word *Heretick* was by the Writer of their *Repertorium*, printed at *Venice* in the Year 1588, who to shew his Critical Learning, saith, the Word *Hereticus*, according to some, is compounded of *Erro*, and *Recto*; because an *Heretick* errs from what is right. According to others it is derived from *Ercisor*, which signifies to divide; and according to some it comes from *Adhereo*, because it is one's adhering obstinately to an Error, that makes him an *Heretick*. And with the same stock of Learning it was, that another *Inquisitor* proved from St. Paul's Words, *Hæreticum devita*, that *Christians* were commanded to deprive *Hereticks* of their Lives.

The Secretary writes down whatever is said judicially in the *Inquisition*.

The *Advocate Fiscal* prosecutes the Prisoner with his utmost skill and diligence to convict him of Heresy.

The Treasurer has the Estate and all the Goods of the Prisoner put into his hands, when the Prisoner is apprehended.

The *Familiars* are the *Bayliffs* of the *Inquisition*; which tho it is a vile Office in all other Criminal Courts, is esteemed so honourable in this of the *Inquisition*, that there is not a Nobleman in the Kingdom that is not in it, and such are commonly em-

employ'd by the *Inquisitors* to apprehend People: Neither is it any wonder, that Persons of the highest Quality do desire to be thus employ'd, since the same plenary Indulgence is by the Pope granted to every single Exercise of this Office, as was granted by the *Lateran Council* to those that succoured the *Holy Land*.

The Goalers are directed by the *Inquisitors*, how to dispose of, and how to treat their Prisoners, and are straitly charged not to give, nor to suffer them to have any manner of Intelligence.

The *Inquisitors*, and all their Officers do take an Oath, not to discover any thing that is said or done within the Walls of the Inquisition to any Person whatsoever, neither is there any thing more severely punished by this Court, than the Violation of that Oath.

And whereas the Pope's having thus appointed *Inquisitors* to be the Judges of Heresie, was a great Incroachment on the Episcopal Jurisdiction, which the Papal ever since it pretended to be Monarchical, has sought by a thousand ways to lessen; the Popes, to make this Encroachment go down the easier, allowed two Privileges to the Bishops; the one was, that the *Inquisitors* should not have Authority to Imprison a Bishop: And the other was, that

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before they condemned any Person as a Heretick, they should send to the Bishop of the Place, to concur with them in that Sentence; which two Constitutions, though they are still in force, are of little benefit to the Bishops; who tho they may not be imprisoned upon suspicion of Heresy by the Inquisitors, may be confined to their Houses by them, until they have inform'd the Pope, as the Archbishop of *Toledo* was in the Reign of *Philip II.* And if the Bishop, when he is acquainted with the Process of the Prisoner, should refuse to agree to his being condemned, the Inquisitors may pass Sentence notwithstanding; for in this, as in all other Cases, the Divine Authority of Bishops, when it happens to clash as they term it, with the Papal, must still give way to it.

The Court of Inquisition proceeds summarily, and most commonly upon a Denuntiation, as they term it, which does not, like an Accusation, disable the Person that makes it to be a Witness. The Inquisition forceth all to inform that can do it, by Edicts in the Form following.

TO all and singular Christians, as well Ecclesiasticks as Laicks of both Sexes, of whatsoever Degree, Order, Condition, Pre-eminence, Dignity, or Authority, the highest
not

not excepted. Know ye, That we by the Series and Tenor of these Presents, and by our Authority, and by that of the Office we execute here, do Charge and Command, That within twelve Days after the Publication hereof, (the first four of which are to be as the first, and the next four as the second and the last four as a preremptory and third Canonical Admonition) all that do know or suspect any of Heresy, do come and inform against them, upon Pain of the greater Excommunication *late Sententia*, which shall be *ipso facto* incurred, and from which they cannot be absolved by any, but by our Lord the Pope, or by us. And we do further Certify, That whosoever, despising the Penalty of this Excommunication, shall forbear to inform us, shall moreover be proceeded against as a Favourer of Hereticks.

If the Informer, when he comes in, names any Witnesses besides himself, they are sent for privately, and before they are examined, do take an Oath, not to discover to any Person their having been with the Inquisitors, nor to speak of any thing they said, saw, or heard within that Court.

All People, tho never so infamous, and tho they stand convicted of Perjury, are in favour of the Faith, and in detestation of Hereticks, admitted by the Inquisition to be Witnesses, Mortal Enemies only excepted.

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This Exception is of little Benefit to the Prisoner, by reason of his not knowing who they are that have informed and witnessed against him.

The Depositions of the Informer, and Witnesses, if there be any, being thus privately taken, a Familiar is sent for, and being come, he has the following Order put into his Hand.

B*Y the Command of the Reverend Father N. an Inquisitor of Heretical Pravity, let N. be apprehended and committed to the Prisons of this Holy Office, and not be released out of them but by the express Order of the said Reverend Inquisitor.*

If several Persons are to be taken up at the same time, the Familiars are commanded so to order things, that they may know nothing of one another's being apprehended; and at this the Familiars are so expert, that a Father and his three Sons, and three Daughters, who lived together in the same House, were all carried Prisoners to the Inquisition, without knowing any thing of one another's being there, until seven Years afterwards, when they that were alive, came forth in an *Act of the Faith*.

The Prisoner being apprehended and carried with all possible Secrecy to the Inquisition, is delivered to the Goaler. The

The Prisons of the Inquisition are little dark Rooms, and have no other Furniture but a hard Quilt, and an useful Pot. The Prisoners are not suffered to see any Body but their Keeper, who brings them their Diet, and with it a lighted Lamp, which burns about half an Hour; neither must their Keeper, without Leave from the Inquisitors, entertain any Discourse with them.

After the Prisoner has spent two or three Days and Nights, perhaps Weeks or Months, in his melancholy Apartment, he is carried by his Keeper before the Inquisitors; who, before they ask him a Question, do make him take an Oath to return true Answers to all their Interrogatories; and if he has ever been guilty of any *Heresy* to confess it to them.

The first Question the Prisoner is asked, is, *Whether he knows why he was taken up by the Inquisition?* And if he answers, *That he does not know*; he is then asked, *Whether he knows for what Crimes the Inquisition useth to imprison People?* If he answers, *For Heresy*; he is admonished, upon the Oath he has taken, to confess all his *Heresies*, and to discover all his Teachers and Complices. If the Prisoner denies that he ever held any *Heresies*, or had ever any Communication with any *Hereticks*, he is gravely told,

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That the Holy Office does not use to imprison People rashly, or without having good Grounds for what they do, and that therefore he would do well to confess his Guilt; and that the rather, because the Holy Office, contrary to the Custom of all other Courts, is severe to those that deny, but merciful to all that confess their Guilt.

If the Prisoner persists in denying that he ever held any Heresies, his Goaler is called in, and commanded to carry him back to the Place from whence he came, and the Prisoner is admonished strictly to examine his own Conscience, that the next time they send for him, he may be prepared to make a true and full Confession of all his Heresies, Teachers, and Complices. The Prisoner having been allowed two or three Days, perhaps Weeks or Months, more to do this in, is brought before the Inquisitors a second time, and is asked, Whether he comes prepared to confess? And if he answers, That he cannot without accusing himself or others falsely, make any such Confession as they desire of him; they do then ask him, Where he was born, and what his Parents were, and where he went to School, and who were his School-masters, and where he has lived all his time, and with whom he has conversed most, and who has been his Confessor, and when he was last at Confession, and at the Sacrament? with twenty more such Questions: And being

ing told, *That they have sufficient Proof of his being an Heretick*; they command him, since he cannot repent of his Heresies, unless he confesseth them all, to go back to his Prison, and there pray to God for Grace to dispose him to make a true and full Confession to the saving of his Soul, which is all they seek after. And being again allowed a considerable time to pray, and consider on what the Inquisitors have said to him, he is brought before them a third time; and in case he persists in pleading, Not guilty, he is then asked some Questions concerning divers *Heretical Doctrines*, but without acquainting him with the Particulars he is charged withal, for fear of leading him thereby to the Knowledge of the Informers or Witnesses: For Example, *Whether he believes Christ to be bodily present in the Sacrament, and that it is lawful to adore Images, and to pray to Saints and Angels?* And if he affirms, *That he did always firmly believe these, and all the other Doctrines of the Roman Church*; he is asked, *If he always believed these Doctrines, how he came to speak against them?* and if he denies that he ever did, he is then told, *That since he is so obstinate in his Heresies, of which they have a sufficient Proof before them, they will order their Advocate Fiscal to form his Process, and to convict him of them.* But in case the Inquisi-

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tors have not sufficient Evidence, notwithstanding that, to draw a Confession from the Prisoner, they have told him oftner than once, *That they had*, they do then fall a Note lower, and tell the Prisoner, That though they may not have sufficient Proof of his *Heretical Words* and *Actions* to convict him of them, that yet they have sufficient to put him on the Rack to make him confess them. And having fixed the Day when he is to undergo the Tortures, when that dismal Day comes, if he does not prevent it by such a Confession as is expected from him, he is led to the Place where the Rack is, attended by an Inquisitor, and a Publick Notary, who is to write down the Answers the Prisoner returns to the Questions which shall be put to him by the Inquisitor, whilst he is upon the Rack. During the time the Executioner is preparing that Engine of unspeakable Cruelty, and is taking off the Prisoner's Clothes to his Shirt and Drawers, the Inquisitor is still exhorting the Prisoner to have Compassion both on his Body and Soul, and by making a true and full Confession of all his *Heresies*, to prevent his being tortured. But if the Prisoner saith, That he will suffer any thing rather than accuse himself or others falsely, the Inquisitor commands the Executioner to do his Duty, and to begin the Torture ; which in the Inquisition

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fition is given by twisting a small Cord hard about the Prisoners naked Arms, brought behind his Back, and hoisting him up from the Ground by an Engine to which the Cord is fastned: And as if the miserable Prisoner's hanging in the Air by his Arms, were not torment enough, he has several Quassations or Shakes given him; which is done by screwing his Body up higher, and letting it down again with a Jirk, which disjoints his Arms, and after that the Torture is much more exquisite than it was before.

When the Prisoner is first hoisted from the Ground, an Hour-glass is turned up, which (if he does not prevent it by making such a Confession of his Heresies as the Inquisitor that is present all the while, and is continually asking him Questions, expects from him,) must run out before he is taken down; To promise to make such a Confession, if they will take him off the Rack, not being sufficient to procure him that Mercy, no more than his crying out that he shall expire immediately if they do not give him some Ease; that, as the Inquisitors tell us, being no more than all that are upon their Rack do think they are ready to do.

If the Prisoner endures the Rack without confessing any thing, which few, or none, though never so innocent, are able
to

Inquisition in Portugal, &c. 435

to do; so soon as the Hour-glass is out, he is taken down, and carried back to his Prison, where there is a Surgeon ready to put his Bones in joint. And though in all other Courts, the Prisoners having endured the Rack without Confessing the Crimes for which they were tortured, clears'em and makes void all the Evidence that was against them, yet in the Inquisition, where whatsoever Humanity and right Reason have established in favour of the Prisoner, is left to the Discretion of the Judge, it is commonly otherwise; the Prisoners that will not confess any thing, being usually racked twice; and if they stand it out, tho few of them can do that, thrice.

But if the Prisoner makes the Confession the Inquisitor expects he should on the Rack, it is writ down word for word by the Notary, and is, after the Prisoner has had a day or two's Rest, carry'd to the Prisoner, to set his hand to it, which if the Prisoner does, it puts an end to his Process, the want of sufficient Evidence to have convicted him, being abundantly supply'd by this extorted Confession, being thus signed by him. But in case the Prisoner, when it is brought to him, refuseth to sign it, affirming it to be false, and to have been extorted from him by the Extremity of the Torture, he is then carried to the Rack a

second time to oblige him to repeat and sign the same Confession.

It is a very hard matter for any one that is a Prisoner in the Inquisition for Heresy, to escape the Rack, since neither the professing and maintaining the Doctrines to be true wherewith he is charged, nor the denying of them, can secure him from it, the first being commonly Racked, to make them discover their Teachers and Accomplices; and the second, to oblige them to confess their own Guilt. And if a Prisoner does confess his having spoke some Heretical Words, but to save his Estate, stands in his having spoke them rashly, and in a Passion, without an Heretical Mind, he is racked to make him discover whether it was so or not, or whether his Thoughts were not the same with his Words. If a Prisoner either makes no Confession at all, or does not confess the particular Heretical Words or Facts wherewith he stands charged, and with which the Inquisitors will never acquaint him; he is asked whether he has any thing besides his Denial to offer in his own Defence, and if he has to make use of it: For now the Advocate Fiscal, upon their having Evidence enough against him, is ordered to form his Procel. Here, if the Prisoner alledgeth, that unless they will be pleased to let him know the particular

cular Heretical Words, or Facts, he stands charged withal, and who the Persons are that have informed and witnessed against him, it will not be possible for him to make any Defence; he is told, that cannot be done, because, to let him know the particular Heretical Words or Facts, might lead him to the Knowledge of the Informers and Witnesses; who by the fundamental Law of the Inquisition, must never either directly or indirectly be discovered to him.

Now for this singular and inhuman Custom of not letting their Prisoners know the particular Facts they stand charged withal, nor who they are that have informed and witnessed against them, the Inquisitors have nothing to say, but that it is necessary to the Security of the Lives of the Accusers and Witnesses, who if they were known, would be in so great danger; that none would dare to venture to inform or bear Witness against Hereticks in their Court. Which Pretence, tho it might have some Ground when Courts of Inquisition were first erected, no City, no not *Rome* it self, having submitted quietly to them when they were first introduced; it is now notorious to all the World, and to none more than to the Inquisitors themselves, that it is altogether groundless, and especially in *Spain* and *Portugal*, where the Inquisi-

tion is not only established by Law, but by a wonderful Fascination, is so fixed in the Hearts and Affections of the People, that one that should offer the least Affront to another, for having been an Informer or Witness in the Inquisition, would be torn in a thousand Pieces: And did the Prisoners that have been in the Inquisition but know certainly, who the Persons were, that had informed and witnessed against them, they durst not for their Lives speak one word against them, or shew them the less Respect on that account.

Now for a Court to continue a Custom so singularly unjust and cruel, and upon a Pretence all the World knows to be altogether groundless, is a Confidence not to be matched any where, that I know of.

The Prisoner being thus deny'd the knowledge of the Things and Persons, without which it is scarce possible for him, tho never so innocent, to make any Defence, he is notwithstanding that, graciously asked by the Inquisitors, whether he desires to have an Advocate and Proctor to help him to make it. If the Prisoner saith he would, he is not to name them, but must take those the Inquisitors shall appoint, who before they have seen their Client, must take the following Oath.

J. N.

J. N. Doctor of both Laws, do in the Presence of the Lord's Inquisitors of this Place against Heretical Pravity, having my Hand on the Holy Gospel of God, promise and swear sincerely and faithfully to defend and maintain the Cause of N. a Prisoner, in the Prisons of this holy Office, who stands accused and impeached for Causes mentioned in its Acts; but so, as not to use any Trick or Cavil, or to instruct my said Client how to conceal the Truth in Judgment. And I do farther promise and swear, That if I shall by any way discover my said Client to be guilty of the Crime or Crimes wherewith he stands charged, I will thereupon immediately dismiss his Cause. And if by having searched narrowly into his Case, I shall discover that he has had Complices in his Heresies, I will give Information against them to this holy Office: All which I do promise upon Pain of Perjury, and of an Excommunication, from which I cannot be absolved by any but by this holy Office. So help me God, and these holy Gospels.

The same Oath is taken by the Prisoner's Proctor, as the Inquisitors call him, tho in Truth, both he and the Advocate are the Inquisitors Engines, made use of to fish what they can out of the Prisoner against himself and his Friends, rather than any thing else.

The Prisoner being thus fitted with an Advocate and Proctor, who are not suffered to know any thing more of his Accusers, and of the Witnesses against him, than he himself knows; he is asked by them whether he would have any Questions put by the Inquisitors to those that have informed and witnessed against him, or would have them examined upon any Points: And in case the Prisoner furnisheth his Advocate with any such Questions or Points, they are put by him into Form, and delivered to the Inquisitors.

The Prisoner is asked also whether he has any Witnesses of his Orthodoxy; and if he names any, they are sent for, and heard by the Inquisitors. And as these Witnesses do go to the Inquisition with trembling Hearts, so they are extremely cautious, not to say any thing concerning the Prisoner, that shall imply their having lived in any intimacy with him, for fear of bringing themselves under a Suspicion of Heresy. And by the Laws of the Inquisition, no Relation of the Prisoners within the fourth Degree can be a Witness for him. When the Prisoners Advocate and Proctor are dismissed, they take an Oath that they have no Copy of the Defence the Prisoner made for himself, and that they will never speak of it to any Person whatever, neither is the Prisoner ever suffered to see the De-

Depositions of his own fearful Witnesses, no more than the Depositions of those that are against him.

Beside the fore-mentioned, there is another common Process in the Inquisition, which is against those that have murder'd themselves; or died a natural Death in their Prisons. The Process against the first is short; A Prisoner's having murdered himself being judged such an Evidence of his Guilt, as is sufficient to convict him of the Heresies wherewith he was charged. The Process against the second is carry'd on by the Advocate Fiscal in the same manner as it would have been, had the Prisoner been alive, and the Prisoner's Relations and Friends, or any other that have any thing to offer in Defence of the Deceased, are by a publick Edict summon'd to appear before the Inquisitors within forty Days, to give their Evidence; and if upon this Summons none do appear to offer any thing in Vindication of the Deceased, as I believe few are ever so hardy as to do that, the Deceased, after the Expiration of that Term of Days, is acquitted, or condemned, in the same manner that he would have been had he been alive. And if he is condemned, his whole Estate is forfeited, and his Body and Effigies are burnt at the next Act of the Faith, as are the Bodies and Effigies of those that have murdered themselves. But

But the Power of the Inquisition extends not only to those that died in its Prisons, but to the Bodies, Estates and good Names of all, that, after their Decease, shall be convicted of having died Hereticks. And tho as to the Estates of those that are convicted of having dy'd Hereticks, they can go no farther than forty Years, as to the taking of their Bones out of their Graves and burning them, and the depriving them of their good Name, there is no Limitation of Time.

When a competent number of Prisoners are convicted of Heresy, either by their own voluntary, or extorted Confession, or upon the Evidence of certain Witnesses, a Day is fix'd by the chief Inquisitor for a Jayl-delivery, which is called by them, an Act of the Faith, and which is always upon a Sunday. In the Morning of the Day the Prisoners are all brought into a great Hall, where they have the Habits put on they are to wear in the Procession, which begins to come out of the Inquisition about 9 of the Clock in the Morning.

The first in the Procession are the *Dominican* Fryars, who carry the Standard of the Inquisition, which on the one side hath their Founder, *Dominic's* Picture, and on the other side the Cross, betwixt an Olive Tree and a Sword, with this Motto, *Justitia & Misericordia*: Next after the *Domini-*

cans

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come the Penitents, some with *Benitoes*, and some without, according to the nature of their Crimes. They are all in black Coats without Sleeves, and barefooted, with a Wax Candle in their hands. Next come the Penitents who have narrowly escap'd being Burnt, who over their black Coat have Flames painted, with their Points turned downward, to signify their having been saved, but so as by Fire. This Habit is call'd by the *Portugueze*, *Feugo revolto*, or Flames turned up side down. Next come the Negative and Relapsed that are to be Burnt, with Flames upon their Habit, pointing upwards, and next come those who profess Doctrines contrary to the Faith of the *Roman Church*, and who besides Flames on their Habit pointing upward, have their Picture, which is drawn two or three days before upon their Breasts, with Dogs, Serpents, and Devils, all with open Mouths painted about it.

Pegna, a Famous *Spanish* Inquisitor, calls this Procession, *Horrendum ac tremendum Spectaculum*, and so it is in truth, there being something in the Looks of all the Prisoners, besides those that are to be Burnt, that is ghastly and disconsolate, beyond what can be imagined; and in the Eyes and Countenance of those that are to be Burnt, there is something that looks fierce and eager.

The Prisoners that are to be Burnt alive,
besides

besides a Familiar, which all the rest have, have a Jesuit on each hand of them, who are continually preaching to them, to abjure their Heresies; but if they offer to speak any thing in defence of the Doctrines they are going to suffer Death for professing, they are immediately gagg'd, and not suffer'd to speak a Word more.

This I saw done to a Prisoner, presently after he came out of the Gates of the Inquisition, upon his having look'd up to the Sun, which he had not seen before in several Years, and cry'd out in a Rapture; *How is it possible for People that behold that glorious Body, to worship any Being but him that created it?* After the Prisoners comes a Troop of *Familiars* on Horseback, and after them the Inquisitors, and other Officers of the Court upon Mules; and last of all comes the *Inquisitor General* upon a White Horse, led by 2 Men, with a black Hat, and a green Hatband, and attended by all the Nobles, that are not employ'd as *Familiars* in the Procession.

In the *Terreiro de Paco* (which may be as far from the Inquisition as *White-hall* is from *Temple-bar*) there is a Scaffold erected, which may hold two or three thousand People; at the one end sit the *Inquisitors*, and at the other end the Prisoners, and in the same order as they walked in the Procession, those that are to be burnt, being seated on the
highest

highest Benches behind the rest, which may be ten Foot above the Floor of the *Scaffold*.

After some Prayers, and a Sermon, which is made up of Encomiums of the Inquisition, and Invectives against Hereticks, a Secular Priest ascends a Desk, which stands near the middle of the Scaffold, who having first taken all the Abjurations of the Penitents who kneel before him, one by one in the same Order they walked in the Procession, at last recites the final Sentence of the Inquisition upon those that are to be put to Death, in the Words following :

‘ **W**E, the Inquisitors of Heretical Pravity, having, with the Concurrency of the most Illustrious *N.* Lord Archbishop of *Lisbon*, or of his Deputy, *N.* called on the Name of the Lord Jesus Christ, and of his Glorious Mother, the Virgin *Mary*, and sitting on our Tribunal, and Judging, with the Holy Gospels lying before us, that so our Judgment may be, in the sight of God, and our Eyes may behold what is just in all Matters betwixt the Magnifick Doctor *N.* Advocate Fiscal on the one part, and you, *N.* now before us, on the other, we have Ordained, that in this place, and on this day you should receive your definitive Sentence ;

‘ We do therefore by this our Sentence put
‘ in

‘ in Writing, define, pronounce, declare, and
 ‘ sentence thee, N. of the City of *Lisbon*, to
 be a *Convicted, Confessing, Affirmative, and*
Professed Heretick, and to be deliver’d, and left
by us as such, to the Secular Arm: and we by
this our Sentence, do cast thee out of the Ecclesi-
astical Court, as a Convicted, Confessing, Affir-
mative and Professed Heretick, and we do leave
and deliver thee to the Secular Arm, and to the
Power of the Secular Court; but at the same
time do most earnestly beseech that Court so to
moderate its Sentence, as not to touch thy Blood,
or to put thy Life in any danger.

Is there in all History, an Instance of so
 gross and confident a Mockery of God, and
 the World, as this of the Inquisitors ear-
 nestly beseeching the Civil Magistrates not
 to put the Hereticks they have condemned,
 and delivered to them, to death? For were
 they in earnest when they make this So-
 lemn Petition to the Secular Magistrates,
 why do they bring their Prisoners out of
 the Inquisition, and deliver them to those
 Magistrates, in Coats painted over with
 Flames? why do they teach, that He-
 reticks, above all other Malefactors, ought
 to be punished with Death? And why do
 they never resent the Secular Magistrates
 having so little regard to their earnest and
 joynt Petition, as never to fail to Burn all
 the Hereticks which are delivered to ’em
 by

by the Inquisition, within an Hour or two after they have them in their hands? And why in *Rome*, where the Supreme, Civil, and Ecclesiastical Authority are lodged in the same Person, is this Petition of the Inquisition, which is made there as well as in other places, never granted? Certainly, not to take any notice of the old Canon, which forbids the Clergy to have any hand in the Blood of any Person whatsoever, would be a much less Dishonour to the Inquisition, than to pretend to go on, observing that Canon, by making a Petition which is known to be so contrary to their Principles and Desires.

The Prisoners are no sooner in the hands of the Civil Magistrate, than they are loaded with Chains, before the Eyes of the Inquisitors, and being carried first to the Secular Goal, are within an Hour or two brought from thence before the Lord Chief Justice, who, without knowing any thing of their particular Crimes, or of the Evidence that was against them, asks 'em one by one, *In what Religion they do intend to die?* If they answer, that they will die in the Communion of the *Roman Church*, they are condemned by him, *To be carried forthwith to the place of Execution, and there to be first strangled, and afterwards burnt to Ashes.* But if they say, *They will die in the Protestant,* or
in

in any other Faith that is contrary to the Roman, they are then sentenced by him, To be carry'd forthwith to the place of Execution, and there to be burnt alive.

At the place of Execution, which at Lisbon is the Ribera, there are so many Stakes set up as there are Prisoners to be burnt, with a good quantity of dry Furz about them. *The Stakes of the Profess'd*, as the Inquisitors call them, may be about four Yards high, and have a small Board whereon the Prisoner is to be seated, within half a Yard of their top. The Negative and Relapsed being first strangled and burnt, the *Profest* go up a Ladder betwixt the two Jesuits which have attended them all day; and when they are come even with the fore-mentioned Board, they turn about to the People, and the Jesuits spend near a quarter of an hour in exhorting the *Profest* to be reconciled to the Church of Rome; which if they refuse to be, the Jesuits come down, and the Executioner ascends, and having turn'd the *Profest* off the Ladder upon the Seat, and chained their Bodies close to the Stake, he leaves them, and the Jesuits go up to them a second time, to renew their Exhortation to them, and at parting tell them, *That they leave them to the Devil, who is standing at their Elbow to receive their Souls, and carry them with him into the Flames of Hell.*

Hell-Fire, so soon as they are out of their Bodies. Upon this a great Shout is raised, and as soon as the Jesuits are off the Ladders, the cry is, *Let the Dog's Beards, Let the Dog's Beards be * made* ; which is done by thrusting flaming Furzes fastened to a long Pole against their Faces. And this Inhumanity is commonly continued until their Faces are burnt to a Coal, and is always accompanied with such loud Acclamations of Joy, as are not to be heard upon any other occasion ; a Bull-Feast, or a Farce being dull Entertainments to the using of a profess'd *Heretick* thus inhumanely.

The *Profest's Beards* having been thus made, or trim'd, as they call it in jollity, Fire is set to the Furz which are at the bottom of the Stake, and above which the *Profest* are chained so high, that the top of the Flame seldom reacheth higher than the Seat they sit upon ; and if there happen to be a Wind (to which that Place is much exposed) it seldom reacheth so high as their Knees : So that though if there be a Calm, the *Profest* are commonly dead in about half an hour after the Furz is set on fire ; yet if the Weather prove windy, they are not after that dead in an hour and a half, or 2 Hours, and so are really roasted, and not burnt to Death. But tho out of

G g

Hell

* Fazer is their Word for Trimming.

Hell there cannot possibly be a more lamentable Spectacle than this, being joined with the Sufferers (so long as they are able to speak) crying out, *Misericordia por amor de Dios, Mercy for the Love of God*; yet it is beheld by People of both Sexes, and of all Ages, with such Transports of Joy and Satisfaction, as are not on any other occasion to be met with.

And that the Reader may not think that this inhumane Joy may be the Effect of an at-
tural Cruelty that is in those Peoples disposition, and not of the Spirit of their Religion, he may rest assured, that all publick Malefactors, besides Hereticks, have their violent Deaths no where more tenderly lamented, than among the same People, and even when there is nothing in the manner of their Deaths that appears inhumane or cruel.

Within a few Days after the Execution, the *Pictures* of all that have been burnt, and which were taken off their Breasts when they were brought to the Stake, are hung up in *St. Domingo's Church*, whose West End, tho very high, is all covered over with these Trophies of the Inquisition hung up there in honour to *Dominic*, who, to fulfil his Mother's Dream, was the first Inventor of that Court; *Dominic's Mother*, when she was ready to be brought to Bed of him, having dream'd that she was delivered not of a humane Creature, but of a fierce Dog, with a burning Torch in his Mouth.

A

LIST

Of the Persons who received their
Sentences in the Act of the *Faith*,
celebrated in the City of *Lisbon*,
on the 10th of *May*, 1682.

Men that died in the Prisons, and were ab-
solved.

Ages.

Punishments.

D*iogo de Chaves*, a
new Christian, a
Farmer of the Revenue,
and a professed Knight
of a certain military Or-
der, a Native and In-
habitant of this City.

Simaon Roiz Chaves, a
new Christian, a Man
of Business, a Native and
Inhabitant of this City.

Ages.

Punishments.

Antonio Nunes de Royga, a new Christian, a Bachelor, a professed Knight of a certain military Order, the Son of *Sebastiao Nunes de Lisboa*, a Farmer of the Revenue, a Native and Inhabitant of this City.

Bernardo de Souza, who was of no Calling, a Native of the Town of *Montemor velho*, in the Bishoprick of *Conimbra*, and Inhabitant of this City.

Lewis de Silva de Menezes, part of a New Christian, who lived upon his Estate, a Native of the City of *Evora*, and Inhabitant of the Town of *Aveiro*.

Manoel da Costa, a New Christian, a Merchant and Native of the City of *Leyria*, and an Inhabitant of this of *Lisbon*.

Persons

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Persons who did not abjure.

Ages.

Punishments.

- | | | |
|-----|--|--------------------------|
| 54. | <i>Antonio Pereire, a New Christian, a Merchant, a Native of the Town of Chasim, in the Bishoprick of Miranda, and Inhabitant of this City, for having swore falsely before the Tribunal of the Holy Office, in Matters of the Faith.</i> | 3 Years at Castro Marim. |
| 75. | <i>Simaon Henriques, a New Christian, who was a Farmer of the Revenue, Native and Inhabitant of this City, who abjured de vehemente, for the Crimes of Judaism, in an Act of the Faith, celebrated therein in the Year 1656. Imprisoned a second time for having relapsed into the same.</i> | 5 Years in Brasil. |

Ages.

Punishments.

26. *Manoel Dos Santos Annes*, who has no Calling, a Native and Inhabitant of the Town of *Santarem*, for having feigned himself a Familiar of the *Holy Office*, and in the Name of the said Tribunal, testify'd the clearness of the Blood of certain Persons, having accepted of Money from some for the said Effect.

For Sodomy.

30. *Salvador Veira*, a Merchant, Native and Inhabitant of the Village of *Amoro*, in the County of the Town of *Almada*, Negative. } 5 Years in Brasil.
18. *Antonio de Olivero*, a Taylor, a Batchelor, the Son of *Manoel de Olivero*, who was a Wine-Merchant in the Village of *Bellem*, in the County of this City, convicted, confesseth and was the Patient. } To be Whipped, and to be Three Years in the Gallies.

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Ages. Punishments.

20. *Manoel Baijaon*, a Carpenter, a Batchelor, the Son of *Mainoel Roiz*, a Carrier, a Native and Inhabitant of the Village of *Bellem*, in the County of this City, convicted, confesseth, and was the Patient. *Ibid.*
23. *Domingo Lopez*, a Batchelor, and Footman, the Son of *Pedro Lopez*, a Labourer, Native of the Parish of *St. Pedro di Adais*, in the County and Village of *Guemoraon*, Inhabitant of this City, convicted, confesseth, and the Patient. *The same, and 5 Years in the Gallies.*
19. *Joseph Gomez*, a Taylor, a Batchelor, the Son of *Miguel Gomez*, Native of the Parish of *Sileiro*, in the County of *Guimaraens*, and Inhabitant of this City, convicted, confesseth, and was the Patient. *The same, and 10 Years in the Gallies.*

37. *Manoel Machado Negueira*, a Batchelor, a Schoolmaster of Children, a Native and Inhabitant of the Town of *Porlodemos*, and Inhabitant of this City, convicted, confesseth, and was the Agent.

The same, and
10 Years
in the Gal-
lies.

Abjuration de Leve.

45. *Antonio Laurencio de Almada*, a Soldier of the Regiment of *Algarves*; Native of the City of *Faro*, and Inhabitant of *Spirito Santo*, in the State of *Brasil*, for having married twice, his first Wife being alive.
- Francisco Antunes*, a Labourer of the Village of *Fernaon Foam*, in the County of the City of *Guarda*, and Inhabitant of *Rapoila*, of the said Bishoprick, for the said Fault.

Prison, during
Pleasure,
Whipping,
and 5 Years
in the Gal-
lies.

The same.

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Ages.

Punishments.

34. *Joan de Conto Toledo*, who has no Calling, Native of the Town of *Praya*, in the Island of *Tercera*, and Inhabitant of *San-ctos*, under the Government of the *Rio de Janeiro*, for the said Fault. } *The same.*
35. *Manoel Nunes*, a Taylor, Native of the Village of *Quintaon dos Gallegos*, in the County of the City of *Guarda*, and Inhabitant of the Hamlet of *Mauracaon*, of the said City, for the said Fault. } *The same.*
46. *Manoel Forge*, a Seaman, Native of the Island of *Pico*, and Inhabitant of this City, for the same Fault. } *The same.*
37. *Manoel de Almeyda*, a Taylor, Native and Inhabitant of the Village of *Cadafao* in the Bishoprick of *Guarda*, for the said Fault. } *The same, and 7 Years in the Gal-lies.*

458 A View of the Court of

Ages. Punishments.

43. *Alvaro Colaco*, a Batchelor, who had been a Soldier, a Native and Inhabitant of the Town of *Laurinhan*, who, as it is presumed, did deny the Faith, and go over to the Sect of the *Moors*. Prison during Pleasure, and 3 Years in the Gallies.

Abjuration de vehemente.

30. *Manoel dos Anios*, an Old Christian, a Batchelor, and has no Calling, the Son of *Mattheas Correa*, a Labourer, a Native and Inhabitant of the Village of *Alagoada*, in the Island of *Graciosa*, for having taken some consecrated Crumbs out of the Sacrary of a certain Church. The same, and to be Whipped, and be 3 Years in the Gallies.

36. *Manoel Joan*, a Batchelor, and Barber, the Son of *Francisco Joan*, a Labourer, Native of the City of *St. Luis*, in the State of *Marignaoon*, for the faults of Witchcraft, and for Presumption of his having made a Covenant with the Devil. The same.

32.

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Ages. Punishments:

32. *Agostino Roiz de Oliviero*, a Painter, Native of this City, and Inhabitant of *Torresnovas*, for having spoke Heretical, Rash, Scandalous, Injurious, and to Pious Hearers, offensive Propositions, against our Lord and his most Holy Images. } *The same, and Three Years in the Gallies.*
55. *Joan Vas*, a Batchelor, who had been a Soldier, the Son of *Simao Vas*, a Labourer, Native and Inhabitant of the Town of *Abrantes*, for the said Fault. } *The same, and 7 Years in the Gallies.*

Abjuration for Judaism de vehemente.

Ages. Punishments.

51. *Luis de Mattos Couto*, a New Christian, who lived upon his own Estate, a Native of this City, and Inhabitant in the Government of *Spirito Santo*, in the State of *Brasil*. } *Prison during pleasure.*

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Ages.

Punishments.

37. *Pedro Roiz da Maya*, a new Christian, Native and Inhabitant of this City. } *The same.*
48. *Jasper Francisco*, a New Christian, a Native and Inhabitant of this City. } *The same.*
62. *Estavaon da par Moreno*, a new Christian who lived on his own Estate, a Native and Inhabitant of the Town of *Alcacere*. } *The same.*
45. *Pedro Cardozo*, a New Christian, a Skinner, a Batchelor, a Native and Inhabitant of the said Town. } *The same.*
42. *Vasco Francisco Azietado*, a New Christian, who was a Soldier, the Son of *Benjamin Gomes Azietado*, who was a Judge, Native of the Town of *Vidiguoira*, and Inhabitant of this City. } *The same.*
33. *Vincente de Seixas*, a New Christian, a Batchelor, the Son of *Manoel de Seixas* an Advocate, a Native and Inhabitant of the Town of *Alchacere*. } *The same.*

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Ages.

Punishments.

67. *Manoel Paiz de Souza*, a New Christian, the Son of *Manoel Lopez Paiz*, an Advocate, a Native and Inhabitant of the said Town.

The same

55. *Francisco de Almeida Ne-graon*, a New Christian, who belonged to the Sea, a Native and Inhabitant of the Town of *Pedrenero*, for the same Fault of *Judaism*, and for having spoke Propositions with an Heretical Obstinacy after he had been reprov'd for 'em.

The same, and Three Years in Brasil.

52. *Manoel Lopes de Leon*, a New Christian, a Merchant, a Native of the Town of *Tomar*, and an Inhabitant in this City, for the same Fault of *Judaism*, and for having, when he was in the Prison, had communication with Persons abroad.

The same, and Two Years in Algarve.

A Person who wore the Habit, but did not Abjure.

Ages.	Punishments.
48. <i>Joan Alexio, a New Christian a Merchant, Native of Montemor, in the Kingdom of Castile, an Inhabitant in Sevil, and Resident in this City, reconciled by the Church of Sevil, in the Year 1672, for the Faults of Judaism; and imprisoned a second time for having relapsed into the same.</i>	<i>Prison and Habit perpetual, without remission, and 5 Years in Brasil.</i>

The Reason of this Person's not having Abjured, was, because he was taken up for having relapsed, and so must have died without Mercy, had he been convicted.

Abjuration in Forma for Judaism.

32. <i>Diego Lopes Ferrao, a New Christian, a Scrivener, Notary, and Inhabitant of the Village of Fradaon, in the Hundred of the Town of Covilhan.</i>	<i>Prison during pleasure, and the Habit, which shall be taken off in the Act of Faith.</i>
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Inquisition in Portugal, &c. 463

Ages.

Punishments.

48. *Martos Mendes*, a New Christian, a Smith, Native of the Town of *Def-danha a Nova*, an Inhabitant of *Fundaon*, in the Hundred of *Covilhan*.

The same.

52. *Francisco Mendes*, a New Christian, a Shoemaker, Native of the Town of *Benamaron*, an Inhabitant of the Village of *Fundaon*, in the Hundred of the said Town.

The same.

28. *Mathias Roiz*, a New Christian, a Merchant, Native, and Inhabitant of *Villa Real*, in the Archbishoprick of *Braga*.

The same.

44. *Antonio Lopes Arroyijo*, a New Christian, and Tobacco-Merchant, Native of the Town of *Chasim*, and Inhabitant of *Carrazedo Montenegro*, in the Hundred of the Town of *Chaves*, in the Archbishoprick of *Braga*, who Abjured *de Leve* for the Fault of *Judaism*, in an Act of the Faith celebrated in the City of *Sancti-*

The same, and Habit during Pleasure.

ago,

ago, in the Year 1662,
Imprison'd the second
time for having been
defective, and for a Re-
lapse into the same.

25. *Manoel Lopez*, a New
Christian, a Carrier, a
Batchelor, the Son of *Pe-
dro Lopez*, an Inn-keep-
er, Native and Inhabi-
tant of the Town of *A-
rogolos* in the Archbi-
shoprick of *Evora*.

The same.

62. *Joan de Santa Maria*, a
Moor by Nation, the Son
of *Maca*, a Native of *Sal-
le*, and Inhabitant of this
City, for having return-
ed to the Sect of *Maho-
met* after he was bap-
tiz'd a Christian.

*Perpetual
Prison
and Habit.*

A Second Abjuration.

31. *Bernardo Sequeira*, part of
a New Christian, a Bar-
ber, Native of the City
of *Lamego*, and Inhabi-
tant of the City *Porto*.

The same.

30. *Joan de Crus*, a New
Christian, Native and In-
habitant of this City.

The same.

Inquisition in Portugal, &c. 465

Ages. *1800* Punishments.

68. *Pedro Alvares de Moras*, half a New Christian, a Chirurgeon, Native and Inhabitant of the City of *Elvas*. } *The same, and 2 Years in Craftemain.*

35. *Domingo Cardozo*, part of a New Christian, an Officer of the *Chancery*, a Native and Inhabitant of the City of *Lamego*. } *Perpetual Prison and Habit.*

54. *Gabriel Gomes*, a New Christian, a Native and Inhabitant of *Fundaon*. } *The same.*

49. *Luis de Bulaon*, half a New Christian, an Officer in the Court of the Crown; a Native and Inhabitant of this City. } *The same.*

The Third Abjuration.

41. *Ayres Roiz*, a New Christian, a Practitioner and Native of the City of *Guarda*, and an Inhabitant of this of *Lisbon*. } *The same.*

69. *Fernaon Roiz Penco*, a New Christian, a Farmer of the Revenue, a Native of the City of *Badayos*, in the Kingdom of *Castile*, and Inhabitant of this City. } *The same.*

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Ages.

Punishments.

33. *Luis Serrao*, more than
half a New Christian,
a Batchelor, a Student in
Divinity, the Son of *An-*

tonio Serrao de Crafo,

The same.

a New Christian, an A-
pothecary, a Native and
Inhabitant of this City.

35. *Laurence de Costa*, half a
New Christian, a Dealer
in Horses, the natural
Son of *Martin de Costa*,
a Farmer of the Reve-
nues, a Native and In-
habitant of this City.

The same.

48. *Manoel Carrvalho*, half a new
Christian, who lived by
his Practice, Native of
the Town of *Cavalhaon*,
in the Hundred of the
City of *Guarda*, an Inha-
bitant of this City.

The same.

39. *Francisco Roiz Mogadouro*,
a New Christian, a Bat-
chelor, the Son of *An-*
tonio Roiz Mogadouro, a
Native and Inhabitant
of this City.

The same.

The

Inquisition in Portugal, &c. 467

The Fourth Abjuration.

Ages.

Punishments.

72. *Antonio Serraon de Craſto*,
a New Chriſtian, an A-
pothecary, a Native and
Inhabitant of this City.

The ſame.

29. *Pantaleon Roiz Mogadouro*,
a New Chriſtian, a Bat-
chelor, the Son of *Anto-
nio Roiz Mogadouro*, Na-
tive and Inhabitant of
this City, who did pro-
feſs the Law of *Mofes*.

*The ſame, and
to be confined
to a Convent.*

45. *Pedro Duarte Ferraon*,
the fourth part of a new
Chriſtian, an Officer in
the King's Bench, a Na-
tive and Inhabitant of
this City.

*Prison and
Habit with-
out remiſſion.*

Joſeph Francisco, nick-na-
med, *Barraon*, Batche-
lor, and Shepherd, the
Son of *Domingo Francis-
co Vagado*, a Native and
Inhabitant of the Town
of *Azambuija*, for the
Crime of Witchcraft,
and for having made
a Covenant with the
Devil.

*Perpetual
Prison and
Habit, and
5 Years in
the Gallies,
and to be
whipped.*

468 *A View of the Court of*

Ages.	Punishments.
53. <i>Miguel da Cunha</i> , half a New Christian, a Shop-keeper, a Native of the Village of <i>Alcaides</i> , in the Hundred of <i>Covilhan</i> , Inhabitant of the said Village.	<i>Perpetual Prison and Habit without remission, with the Ensigns of Fire, and 5 Years in the Gallies.</i>

A Person that did not Abjure, and wears the Habit.

Ages.	Punishments.
68. <i>Henrique Nunes Salvador</i> , a New Christian, who was a Merchant, a Native of <i>Colminar el Vigo</i> , in the Kingdom of <i>Castile</i> , and an Inhabitant of <i>Villa Flor</i> , who was reconciled by the Inquisition of <i>Conimbra</i> , in the Year 1652. having been twice since imprisoned for having been defective, <i>i. e.</i> in his Confession, and for the faults of a Relapse.	<i>Perpetual Prison and Habit, without remission, 3 Years in Crasto Marim, with the Ensigns of Fire.</i>

Women

Inquisition in Portugal, &c. 469

Women that died in the Prisons, and were Absolved.

Ages.

Punishments.

Anna Lopez de Barros, a New Christian, the Widow of *Manoel de Medina*, a Native of the Town of *Morchola*, and Inhabitant of this City.

Izabel da Costa, a New Christian, the Widow of *Simaon Lopez Torrez*, an Advocate, a Native of this City, and an Inhabitant of the Village of *Sacavom*, in the Hundred of this City.

Persons who did not Abjure.

27. *Anna Roiz*, nick-named a *Toupa*, Married with *Manoel Roiz* a Carter, a Native and Inhabitant of *Abrantes*, for having feigned Visions, and for Presumptions of her having had a Covenant with the Devil.

3 Years to
Crasto Ma-
rim.

Ages.

Punishments.

46. *Magdalena da Cruz*, the Wife of *Augustino Nunes*, who was *Alcaide* of the secret Prisons of this Inquisition, a Native and Inhabitant of this City, for having co-operated to corrupt certain Officers of the Holy Office to give intelligence to Persons in the Prisons, and to receive Answers from them to Persons that were abroad.

5 Years in
Brasil.

58. *Juliana Pereira*, marry'd with *Francisco de Matos*, a Surgeon, Native of the Town of *Setuval*, and an Inhabitant of this City, for having disordered the just regiment of the Holy Office, in having by Bribes corrupted a certain Officer of the said *Tribunal*, to reveal the Secrets thereof, to know the State of some of the Prisoners Affairs.

5 Years in
Angola.

Inquisition in Portugal, &c. 471.

Ages.

Punishments.

79. *Catherina Antonia*, who has some part of a New Christian, the Widow of *Christovan Roiz*, a Native and Inhabitant of the Town of *Buarcos*, reconciled by the Inquisition of *Conimbra*, in the Year 1629, imprisoned the second time for the Faults of a Relapse into *Judaism*.

Abjuration de Leve.

28. *Joanna Da Paz*, who has three fourths of a New Christian, married with *Joseph Pessoa* a Merchant, a Native and Inhabitant of this City, for the Faults of *Judaism*, and for having co-operated in the corruption of a certain Officer of the Holy Office.

Prison during pleasure, and 2 Years in the *Algarves*.

48. *Catherina Baretta*, a Maid, the Daughter of *Antonio de Crasto*, a Native of *Villa Franca*, and an Inhabitant of this City, for the faults of Witchcraft.

The same, and to be whipp'd, and 4 Years in *Brasil*.

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Ages.	Punishments.
30. <i>Ursula Maria</i> , a Maid, the Daughter of <i>Francisco de Salhas</i> , a Glass Merchant, a Native of the Town of <i>Alhas Vedros</i> , and an Inhabitant of this City, for the same Fault.	The same, and five Years in Brasil.
41. <i>Maria Pinheira</i> , married with <i>Goncalo da Gama Volante</i> , a Native and Inhabitant of this City, for the said Fault.	The same.

A Person who wears the Habit, but does not Abjure.

Maria Cardoza, part of a New Christian, the Widow of *Joan Mendes*, a Taylor, a Native and Inhabitant of *Montemor novo*, in the Archbishoprick of *Evora*, reconciled by the Inquisition of the said City, for *Judaism*, in the Year 1667. imprisoned a second time for having been defective in her Confession.

Inquisition in Portugal, &c. 473

An Abjuration in forma for Judaism.

Ages.

Punishments.

22. *Maria Gonsalvez*, nick-named *Amarintha*, part of a New Christian, the Daughter of *Joan Francisco*, a Labourer, a Native and Inhabitant of the Village of *Majorca*, in the Hundred of the Town of *Montemoro Velho*, in the Bishoprick of *Conimbra*. *Prison during pleasure, and the Habit, which she is to take off in the Act.*
35. *Leonor Mendes*, a New Christian, married with *Marcos Mendes Ferron*, who is in the List, Native of *Idanha a nova*, an Inhabitant in *Fundaon*. *The same. Prison and Habit during pleasure.*
62. *Joannada Paz*, more than half a New Christian, married with *Diogo Ramos*, a Native of the City of *Samora*, in the Kingdom of *Castile*, and an Inhabitant in this City. *The same.*
55. *Catarina da Costa*, a New Christian, married with *Francisco da Rocha*, an Attorney, Native and Inhabitant of this City. *The same.*

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Ages. Punishments.

23. *Anna Manoela*, part of a New Christian, a Maid, the Daughter of *Joan Lopes Cardozo*, a Merchant, Native of the Village of *Berim*, in the Kingdom of *Gallicia*, and Inhabitant in *Chares*. The same.
23. *Maria de Souza Chares*, part of a New Christian, a Maid, the Daughter of *Salvador de Souza*, a Salt-merchant, Native of *St. Jago*, in the Kingdom of *Gallitia*, and an Inhabitant in *Chares*. The same.

The Second Abjuration.

57. *Anna Roiz*, a New Christian, the Widow of *Pedro Alecia*, a Merchant, a Native of the Town of *Bonaventura*, in the Bishoprick of *Samorra*, in the Kingdom of *Castile*, and an Inhabitant of *Chares*. The same.

Inquisition in Portugal, &c. 475

Ages. **Punishments.**

25. *Izabel Borges*, the fourth part of a New Christian, the Daughter of *Manoel Roiz*, a Shopkeeper, Native and Inhabitant of the Town of *Montemorono*, in the Archbishoprick of *Evora*. *The same.*
42. *Anna Maria de Souza*, a new Christian, Married with *George Coelho*, Native of *Sevil*, in the Kingdom of *Castile*, an Inhabitant of *Fundaon* in the Hundred of *Covilhan*. *Perpetual Prison and Habit.*
64. *Catherina de Craсто*, a new Christian, the Widow of *Domingos da Silva*, Native of *Sevil* in the Kingdom of *Castile*, and an Inhabitant in this City. *The same.*
49. *Guiomar Henriques*, a New Christian, Married with *Miguel da Cunha*, who is in the List a Farmer of *Talucco*, Native of the Village of *Alcáide*, in the Hundred of *Covilhan*, an Inhabitant in *Fundaon*, in the Hundred of the said Town. *The same.*

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Ages.		
45.	<i>Gracia de Lima, Married with Manoel Nunes, a Native and Inhabitant of Fundaon.</i>	<i>The same.</i>

The Third Abjuration.

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|-----|--|------------------|
| 22. | <i>Izabel Maria, half a New Christian, Married with Raphael da Silva, who lived by his Practice, Native of Sevil, in the Kingdom of Castile, an Inhabitant of this City.</i> | <i>The same.</i> |
| 40. | <i>Violante Henriques, a New Christian, the Widow of Miguel Henriques a Merchant, Native and Inhabitant of the Village of Fundaon, in the Hundred of the Town of Covilhan.</i> | <i>The same.</i> |
| 53. | <i>Brittes Rebella, part of a New Christian, Married with Manoel das Neves a Surgeon, Native and Inhabitant of the Town of Montemor novo, in the Archbishoprick of Evora.</i> | <i>The same.</i> |

Inquisition in Portugal, &c. 477

Ages. Punishments.

59. *Isabel Roiz*, part of a New Christian, married with *Luis Nunez*, a Labourer, Native and Inhabitant of the Village of *Maijorca*, in the Bishoprick of *Conimbra*. } The same.

27. *Maria Sameda*, part of a New Christian, a Maid, the Daughter of *Mathews Sameda*, a Notary, Native and Inhabitant of the City of *Portalegre*. } The same.

42. *Maria Nunes da Costa*, a New Christian, married with *Ayres Roiz*, who is in the List, Native and Inhabitant of this City. } The same.

55. *Francisca Serraon*, half a New Christian, the Widow of *Luis de Bulhaon*, a Physician, Native and Inhabitant of this City. } The same.

The Fourth Abjuration.

66. *Izabel Henriquez*, a New Christian, the Wife of *Simon de Souza*, a Merchant, Native of this City, and an Inhabitant of *Fundacion*, in the Hundred of the Town of *Covilhan*. } The same.

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Ages.	Punishments.
42. <i>Anna Pessoa, a New Christian, married with Manoel Lopez de Leon, a Merchant, who is in the List, a Native and Inhabitant of this City, for the Crime of having cooperated in the Corruption of a certain Officer in the Holy Office.</i>	<i>The same, and 2 Years in Algarves.</i>

This poor Woman's Crime was, That she bribed an Officer of the Inquisition to convey a Letter to her Husband, after he had been a Prisoner in it above 8 Years.

70. <i>Ignes Luiza, a New Christian, the Widow of Pedro Alexio, a Merchant, Native of the Town of Alvito, in the Archbishoprick of Evora, an Inhabitant in this City.</i>	<i>Perpetual Prison and Habit without Remission.</i>
27. <i>Ignes Pastana, the fourth part of a New Christian, a Maid, the Daughter of Laureneo Postana, a Farmer of the Revenue, a Native and Inhabitant of this City.</i>	<i>The same.</i>

Inquisition in Portugal, &c. 479

Ages.	Punishments.
32. <i>Constantina Navarra, a New Christian, married with Joseph Roiz a Goldsmith, Native of Sevil, in the Kingdom of Castile, and Inhabitant in this City.</i>	<i>The same.</i>
26. <i>Brittees Henriques, a New Christian, a Maid, the Daughter of Antonio Roiz Magadauro, a Farmer of the Revenue, a Native and Inhabitant of this City, who professed the Law of Moses.</i>	<i>Perpetual Prison and Habit, and reclusion in a Religious House.</i>

This Gentlewoman had been 10 Years a Prisoner in the Inquisition, and so must not have been above 16 when she was taken up; she was so rack'd in it, that she was quite crippled.

72. <i>Paula da Crasto, half a New Christian, married with Antonio Duarte, a Scrivener of the Civil Court, a Native and Inhabitant of this City.</i>	<i>Perpetual Prison and Habit, and 3 Years in Brasil.</i>
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Ages.	Punishments.
27. <i>Thereza Maria de Jesus</i> , more than half a New Christian, a Maid, the Daughter of <i>Antonio</i> <i>Serraon</i> , an Apothecary, who is in the List, a Native and Inhabitant of this City.	The same, with the Ensigns of Fire, and 7 Tears in Brasil.

*Women that died in the Prisons, and were re-
ceived.*

Ages.	Punishments.
<i>Ignes Duarte</i> , half a New Christian, a Maid, the Daughter of <i>Antonio Ser- raon</i> , an Apothecary, a Native and Inhabi- tant of this City.	
<i>Isabel do Valle</i> , a New Christian, the Wife of <i>Diogo Roxes</i> , a Native of the Village of <i>Berim</i> in <i>Castile</i> , and Inhabi- tant of <i>Villaron</i> , in the Hundred of <i>Chaves</i> .	

The Persons delivered to the Secular Arm.

Ages. **Punishments.**

43. *Gaspar Lopez Pereire, a New Christian, a Merchant, a Batchelor, the Son of Francisco Lopez Pereire, a Native of the Town of Mogadouro, an Inhabitant of Madrid, and Resident in this City of Lisbon, convicted, confessing, affirmative, professing the Law of Moses, Obstinate, and Impenitent.*
33. *Antonio de Aguiar, a New Christian, a Merchant, a Native of Lamilunilla, near to Madrid, an Inhabitant of Sevil, and Resident in this City of Lisbon, convicted, confessing, affirmative, professing the Law of Moses, Obstinate, Impenitent.*

Ages.

Punishments.

42. *Miguel Henriques da Fonseca*, a New Christian, an Advocate, Native of the Town of *Avios*, an Inhabitant in this City of *Lisbon*, convicted, confessing, affirmative, professing the Law of *Moses*, Obstinate, Impenitent.

These three were burnt alive, within two Hours after the Inquisitors had delivered them to the Secular Arm.

32. *Pedro Serraon*, more than half a New Christian, a Batchelor, the Son of *Antonio Serraon*, an Apothecary, who is in the List, a Native, and Inhabitant of this City, convicted, Negative, and Obstinate.

This last was first strangled, and afterwards burnt to Ashes with the other Three.

A
L I S T

Of the Prisoners, and of their Condemnations and Sentences, who were in the Publick Act of the Faith, celebrated by the Inquisition, in this City of *Lisbon*, on Sunday the 6th of *November*, 1707. Consisting of above Threescore Men and Women.

With some NOTES upon it.

The Most Illustrious Lord Bishop, Nuno D'a-cunha, De Ataide, Counsellour of State, and Dean of his Majesty's Chappel, being Inquisitor-General.

A Person who died in Prison, and was absolv'd.

N^o Ages. M E N. Punishments.

1. 30. **M**iguel Lopes Mon-tezinos, a New Christian, a Merchant,

a Batchelor, the Son of
Rodrigo Lopez Montezinos, a Merchant, Na-
 tive and Inhabitant in
 this City, originally of
 the Kingdom of Ca-
 stile.

The Portuguese Inquisitors, to be re-
 veng'd on the *Castilians*, for calling their
 Countrymen, *Jews*, among other oppro-
 brious Names; where-ever they can have
 the least Colour for it, do never fail in their
 printed Lists of Acts of the Faith, to put
 down their *Jewish* Prisoners, *Castilians*;
 as this Prisoner is here said to have been
 originally, who was born, and had lived
 all his Days in the City of *Lisbon*.

An Abjuration de Leve.

2. 40. *Antonio Goncales Cazei-*
ro, the Son of *Bartholo-*
mew Goncales Cazeiro, a
 Labourer, Native of *Tobewhipt*
Ribeyra Douca, of the and to be 5
 Village of *Senharis*, in Years in the
 the Parish of our Lady Gallies.
 of *Rosario*, in the Di-
 strict of the Town of

Chares,

N^o Ages.

Punishments.

Chares, in the Arch-
bishoprick of *Braga*, In-
habitant in the Town
of *Ares*, in the Bishop-
rick of *Portalegre*, Re-
sident in *Abrantes*, in
the Bishoprick of *Guar-*
da; for marrying a se-
cond time, his First
and Lawful Wife being
alive.

This Man was made to abjure, because
he might possibly believe that it was law-
ful to have more Wives than one; which
is a *Judaical* and *Mahometan* Doctrine.

3. 25. *Francisco Lopes de Sylva*,
a Shoemaker, the Na-
tural Son of *Francisco*
Lopes de Sylva, Native
and Inhabitant in the
Town of *Santaven*, in
this Archbishoprick, for
having used a Purse to
render himself invulne-
rable, and on Presump-
tion of his having made
a Compact with the
Devil, and for the

To be
whipp'd, &
to be Ten
Years in
the Gallies.

N^o Ages.

Punishments.

Crime of Sodomy, in which he was the Agent; and for having tamper'd with Witnesses in the Affairs of the Inquisition, making'em to tell him what they had deposed in it.

How invulnerable soever this Prisoner might be as to all other wounding Engines and Instruments, I doubt whether he was Rack-proof when the Experiment was try'd upon him in the Inquisition, as it infallibly was, upon his denying he was in a Compact with the Devil, when the Inquisitors, as they tell us, had Presumptions of it; of which Presumptions, his having endeavoured to fish out the Secrets of the Inquisition, might be the chief, if it was not the only one. For it is the common Policy of the Inquisitors to make the World believe, that none that have not given themselves Soul and Body entirely up to the Devil, can be guilty of doing any thing to the Prejudice of the establish'd Rules of the Inquisition, particularly of the fundamental Rule, Of not suffering their Prisoners to know any thing of their Accusers, or of the Witnesses against them, or of the par-

particular Faults they stand charged with, always blackening their Prisoners on purpose, that none may pity them, let their Punishments be never so severe. For tho a publick Whipping, and 10 Years in the Gallies, might have been thought too great a Punishment, for one's desiring to know what his Accuser had sworn against him, it could not be thought so for Sodomy and a Compact with the Devil.

A Person that neither Abjured, nor wears the Habit.

N^o Ages.

Punishments.

4. 69. *Gasper Lopes Henniques*, a New Christian, a Physician, Native of the Town of Covilhan, in the Bishoprick of Guarda, Inhabitant in this City; who was reconciled by this Inquisition for the Faults of Judaism, on the 14th of December, 1667. Imprisoned a second time, for a Relapse into the same Faults.

Perpetual Prison.

This Relapse was not proved; for if it had, the Prisoner had been burnt without Mercy; for the Inquisition never pardons

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a second time, let the Relapsed be never so Penitent; and its first Pardon extends only to Life, and sometimes to Liberty, but never to Estate.

An Abjuration de Vehemente for Judaism.

N^o Ages. Punishments.

5. 27. *Gasper Mendes Castanha*, half a *New Christian*, a Merchant, Native of the Town of *Meceiana*, in the District of *Campo de Ourique*, in the Archbishoprick of *Erora*, and Inhabitant in this City. Prison during Pleasure.

This Prisoner is said to be half a *New Christian*, because either his Father, or his Mother, was not of the *Jewish Race*.

6. 36. *Diogo Mendes Sola*, Part of a *New Christian*, a Captain of Horse, Native of the Town of *Trancozo*, in the Bishoprick of *Viseu*, Inhabitant in the City of *Lamego*; upon Duty in this City. The same.

No

Inquisition in Portugal, &c. 489

No Quality nor Post can privilege any Person from being taken up by the Inquisition, and detained in it.

A Person who did not Abjure, but must bear the Habit.

N^o Ages.

Punishments.

7. 42. *Joan Rodriguez Ferrei-
ra*, half a New Christi-
an, a Shop-keeper, Na-
tive of the Town of
Estremos, in the Arch-
bishoprick of *Evora*,
and Inhabitant in the
City of *Leyria*, who
was Reconciled by this
Inquisition, for the
Faults of *Judaism*, in
the publick Act of the
Faith, which was cele-
brated in the *Rocio* of
this City, October 20,
1704. Imprisoned a se-
cond time, for a Dimi-
nution of the same
Faults.

*Perpetual
Prison and
Habit.*

Note, That a Diminution, as they call it, of the same Fault, is, when a Person that has been let out of the Prisons of the Inquisition, is afterwards accus'd of some Heretical Words or Actions, which he or she had not mention'd in the Confession they made of their Heresies.

This

This Habit is the *St. Benito*; which is a black Caslock, with two large Yellow *St. Andrew's* Crosses upon it, one upon the Breast, and the other upon the Shoulders.

The first Abjuration in Forma for Judaism.

N^o Ages.

Punishments.

8. 42. Manoel Mendes Henri-	Prison du-
ques, nicknamed Mon-	ring Plea-
tebarro; a New Chri-	sure, and
stian, a Spice Mer-	the Habit,
chant; Native and In-	which shall
habitant in the City of	be Taken
Guarda.	off in the
	Act of the
	Faith.

All that do Abjure in *Forma* having confessed that they were Hereticks, do go in the Procession of the Act of the Faith, clothed with a *St. Benito*, and with a Wax Candle in their Hand; And though for the first Fault they are pardoned, as to their Lives, and sometimes as to their Liberty; neither their Estate, nor any part of it, is ever restored to them by the Fiscal, to whom it was all committed, as fast as it could be found, after the Prisoners were apprehended by a Familiar.

Inquisition in Portugal, &c. 491

N^o. Ages. Punishments.

9. 27. *Manoel de Santiago*, a Joiner, a Batchelor, the Son of *Alexandro Pereira*, a Silver-Smith, Native of the City of *Burganza*, and Inhabitant in the Town of *Vimiozo*, in the Bishoprick of *Miranda*, Resident in this City. The same.

10. 30. *Manoel Mendes Brandon*, a New Christian, an Advocate, Native of the Town of *Monsanto*, and Inhabitant in *Covilhã*, in the Bishoprick of *Guarda*. Prison and Habit during Pleasure.

11. 19. *Joseph Christovao da Costa*, a New Christian, a Spice-Merchant, a Batchelor; the Son of *Francisco Manoel Delgado*, a Farmer of the Revenue, Native of this City, and Inhabitant in *Leyria*. The same.

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N^o Ages. Punishments.

12. 38. *Dionisio Pimentel*, a New Christian, a Broker, Native of the City of *Braganza*, in the Bishoprick of *Miranda*, and Inhabitant in this City of *Lisbon*. Perpetual Prison and Habit.

The Second Abjuration in Forma for Judaism.

13. 38. *Manoel Pereira Gomes*, a New Christian, a Banker, a Batchelor, the Son of *Manoel Gomes Pereira*, a Confectioner, Native of the City of *Elvas*, and Inhabitant in the Town of *Abrantes*, in the Bishoprick of *Guarida*. The same.

14. 50. *Francisco de Sylveira*, Part of a New Christian, who lived upon his Estate, and Agency; Native and Inhabitant in this City. The same.

15. 46. *Diogo Feijo Flores*, a New Christian, who lived upon his Estate, Native and Inhabitant. The same.

in

Inquisition in Portugal, &c. 493

N^o. Ages. Punishments.

in the Town of Celorico, in the Bishoprick of Guarda.

16. 27. Antonio Lopes de Sylva, a New Christian, of no Trade, a Batchelor, the Son of Sebastian Dias, a Merchant, Native and Inhabitant in this City. The same.

17. 29. Simaon Carvalho Chares, a New Christian, a Farmer, Native and Inhabitant in the Village of Fundaon, in the District of the Town of Covilhaon, in the Bishoprick of Guarda. The same.

18. 25. Henrique Hebre da Cruz, half a New Christian, a Shop-keeper, a Batchelor, the Son of Ignatio Franco, a Shop-keeper, Native, and Inhabitant in this City. The same.

The

The Third Abjuration in Form for Judaism.

N^o Ages.

Punishments.

19. 51. *Antonio Rodrigues Leal*, part of a New Christian, a Shop-keeper, Native of the Town of *Almeida*, in the Bishoprick of *Lamego*; and Inhabitant in the Village of *Fundaon*, in the District of the Town of *Covilhan*, in the Bishoprick of *Guarda*. The same.
20. 31. *Lewis Ferreira de Matos*, half a New Christian, a Shop-keeper, Native of the Town of *Estremoz*, in the Archbishoprick of *Evora*, and Inhabitant of that of *Porto de Mos*, in the Bishoprick of *Leyria*. The same.
21. 38. *Christovao de Paz*, a Scrivener in the Wine Office; a New Christian, Native of the City of *Barganza*, in the Bishoprick of *Miranda*, The same.

and

Nº Age.

Punishments.

and Inhabitant in the
Town of *Setuval*, in
this Archbishoprick.

22. 52. *Antonio Pimentel*, a New
Christian, a Twister of
Silk, Native of the Ci-
ty of *Barganza*, in the
Bishoprick of *Miranda*,
Inhabitant in this of
Lisbon. *The same.*

23. 47. *Joan Lopes Castanha*, a
New Christian, an Ad-
vocate, Native of the
Town of *Moura*, in
the Archbishoprick of
Evora, and Inhabitant
in this City, who ab-
jured *de Vehemente*, for
the Faults of Judaism,
in a publick Act of the
Faith, which was cele-
brated in the *Rocio* of
this City, on the 19th
of *October*, 1704. im-
prisoned a second time
upon new Evidence of
the same Faults. *The same.*

N^o. Ages.

Punishments.

24. 29. Fryar *Luis dos Reys*, a New Christian, a professed Fryar of a certain Religious Order, the Son of *Belchior dos Reys*, a Broker, Native of the City of *Badajos*, in the Kingdom of *Castile*, and Inhabitant in this City. *The same.*

If this Fryar was a Priest, as it is probable he was, at the Age of Nine and Twenty, and withal was no Christian, (as the Inquisitors say he was not) could he, when he administred the Sacraments, ever intend to do that as a Christian Ordinance? This therefore shews plainly how uncertain all Papists are of their being Christians, according to the Doctrine of their own Church; that the Intention of the Priest that consecrates is necessary to the being of a Sacrament. But whether that was this Fryar's Case or not, it is not yet 40 Years since a Parish-Priest was burnt at *Lisbon*, who confessed, that whenever he administred a Sacrament, he had a formed Intention not to administer it as a Divine Ordinance; upon which all the Children that had been Christened by him

him, and were alive, were all baptized anew. I was told this by Consul *Maynard*, who saw the Priest burnt in *Lisbon*.

N ^o Ages.	Punishments.
25. 35. <i>Alvaro Nicholao Nogueira</i> , part of a New Christian, a Merchant, a Batchelor, the Son of <i>Manoel Rodrigues Nogueira</i> , a Merchant, Native of the City of <i>Madrid</i> , in the Kingdom of <i>Castile</i> , and Inhabitant in this of <i>Lisbon</i> .	Perpetual Prison and Habit without Remission, with the Ensigns of Fire, and 5 Years in the Gallies.

This Prisoner scaped being burnt narrowly, for not having, till the Vespers of the Act of the Faith, renounced some Heresies he had made a Profession of ; or for having deny'd he was ever infected with any Heresy, or for not having hit before, on the particular heretical Words or Actions he was charged with ; with which the Inquisitors would not acquaint him, to save him from being burnt, by his confessing of them.

All the forementioned that abjured their Heresies *in Forma*, and were thereupon reconciled to the Church of *Rome*, had their Lives spared, because it was their

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first Fault : But for their Liberty, they still lay for that at the Mercy of the Inquisitors ; whose Mercies are cruel, for tho these penitent Prisoners, whilst they are in the Prisons of the Inquisition, have their poor Allowance of Diet out of their Estates, which were all seiz'd on by the Fiscal in the Minute they were apprehended by a Familiar ; yet if they are ever got out of these Prisons, let their own and their Families Necessities be never so great and deplorable ; they never have one Farthing of their Estates restored to them.

W O M E N.

A Person who neither Abjured, nor wears the Habit.

N^o Ages.

Punishments.

1. 68. *Anna Nunes Medalha,*
the Widow of *Francisco*
Carvalho Charas, who
was a Farmer, Native
and Inhabitant in the
Village of *Fundaon*, in
the District of the
Town of *Covilhan*, in
the Bishoprick of *Guar-*
da, who was reconciled
by this Inquisition for

Perpetual
Prison.

the

N^o Ages.

Punishments.

the Faults of Judaism,
on the 23d of *August*,
1683. imprisoned a se-
cond time, for a Re-
lapse into the same
Faults.

Abjuration de Vehemente for Judaism.

2. 30. *Brites do Mercado*, a
New Christian, the
Wife of *Manoel Henri-
ques do Mercado*, a Mer-
chant, Native of the
Village of *Coriscado*, in
the District of the Town
of *Marialva*, in the Bi-
shoprick of *Lamego*, and
Inhabitant in this City.

*Prison du-
ring Plea-
sure.*

3. 21. *Violante Pereyra*, a New
Christian ; a Vir-
gin, the Daughter of
Diogo Gomes Pereyra, a
Merchant, Native and
Inhabitant in this City.

The same.

4. 33. *Joana de Lemos*, a New
Christian, the Wife of
Manoel Rodrigues Lobo,
a Merchant, Native and
Inhabitant in this City.

The same.

Let these young Married Women be kept never so long in the Prisons of the Inquisition, their Husbands, tho never so fond of them, dare not for their Lives express the least Uneasiness at it; nor dare a Parent for a Child, nor a Child for a Parent: Nay, if they do not seem to rejoice at it, as a thing that is for the Benefit of the Prisoners Souls, they will fall under the Suspicion of being Hereticks themselves. This fills all Places where there are Inquisitions, with Hypocrisy and Disimulation, to the debasing of People's Natures, and cowing of their Spirits. And should the Degeneracy from the Martial Courage of their Ancestors, which is at this time so visible in divers Nations, be imputed to the Inquisition's terrible and merciless Persecutions, which are among them, on the account of Religion; I do not believe that the Thought could be justly look'd on as very extravagant.

Persons that do not Abjure, but do wear the Habit.

N^o Ages. Punishments.

5. 24. *Dona Michaela Archangel*
gela, half a New Chri-
stian, the Wife of Ma-
noel Ferreira, a Shop-
keeper,

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 tion,
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 tors,

keeper, Native of the	<i>Habit</i>
Village of <i>Setuval</i> , in	<i>without</i>
this Archbishoprick, and	<i>Remission.</i>
Inhabitant of that of	
<i>Sardoal</i> , in the Bi-	
shoprick of <i>Guarda</i> , o-	
riginally of the King-	
dom of <i>Castile</i> , who was	
reconciled for the Faults	
of Judaism, in a publick	
Act of the Faith, which	
was celebrated in the	
<i>Rocio</i> of this City, on	
the 12th of <i>September</i> ,	
in the Year 1705. im-	
prisoned a second time,	
for a Diminution of the	
same Faults.	

This young Lady being a married Woman, might well be with Child when she was arrested by a Familiar, which is a thing that often happens among Inquisition Prisoners ; who being once accused of Heresy, are immediately taken up, and thrown into the Dungeons of the Inquisition, let their Quality be what it will, and let them be never so sick, or weak, or never so near their Time. But this, among all the other Inhumanities of the Inquisitors, is justify'd, by their common Maxim,

That to shew Mercy to the *Bodies* of Persons accused of Heresy, is to be cruel to their *Souls*. If the Children born in the Prisons of the Inquisition do happen to live, as they do sometimes (tho one would wonder that any of them should be born alive, considering the Horrors the Mothers are encompass'd with in that Hell upon Earth) they are forthwith sent out to their Father, or to their nearest Relations if their Father is dead, or a Prisoner in the Inquisition.

N^o Ages.

Punishments.

6. 31. *Isabel de Sa*, a New Christian, the Wife of *Luis de Mattos Lopes*, a Merchant, Native of the City of *Barganza*, in the Bishoprick of *Miranda*, and Inhabitant in this of *Lisbon*; who was reconciled for the Faults of Judaism, in a publick Act of the Faith; which was celebrated in the *Rocio* of this City, on *September* the 12th, 1706. imprisoned a second time for a Diminution of the same Faults.

The same.

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N^o Ages.

Punishments.

7. 22. *Dona Hieronima Mauricia de Manganes*, half a *New Christian*, the Wife of *Antonio Tavares da Costa*, a Merchant, who is in this List, Native of the Town of *Setuval*, in this Archbishopsrick, and Inhabitant in this City, originally of the Kingdom of *Castile*; who was reconciled for the Faults of *Judaism*, in a publick Act of the Faith, which was celebrated in the *Rocio* of this City, on September the 12th, 1706. Imprisoned a second time, for a Diminution of the same Faults.

The same.

This Lady was not one and twenty Years old when she was first cast into the Prisons of the Inquisition; by which People are taken up a second time, for a *Diminution*, when after having been let out the first time, they are accused of some Heretical Words or Actions which they had not

A View of the Court of
mentioned in the Confession of their Heresies, whereupon they were reconciled to the Church of Rome.

The first Abjuration in Forma for Judaism.

N ^o Ages.	Punishments.
8. 51. Franca Nunes, a New Christian, the Wife of Manoel Mendes Tavares, an Officer for collecting the Tax upon Snuff, Native of the City of Guarda, and Inhabitant in the Town of Almodavar, in the Bishoprick of Algarve, and Resident in this City.	Prison during Pleasure, and the Habit, which shall be Taken off in the Act of the Faith.
9. 17. Joanna Henriques, a New Christian, not marry'd, the Daughter of Antaon vas Ribeyro, a Shoemaker, Native and Inhabitant in the Town of St. Vincente da Beira, in the Bishoprick of Guarda.	The same.

This was a young Creature, to have been some Months, if not Years, alone in the dismal Prisons of the Inquisition.

Inquisition in Portugal, &c. 505

N ^o Ages.	Punishments.
10. 31. <i>Guiomar Henriques</i> , a New Christian, and not marry'd; the Daugh- ter of <i>Gabriel Nunes</i> , a Shopkeeper, Native and Inhabitant in the Vil- lage of <i>Fundaon</i> , in the District of the Town of <i>Covilhan</i> , in the Bishop- rick of <i>Guarda</i> .	Prison and Habit du- ring Plea- sure.
11. 51. <i>Maria Rodrigues</i> , a New Christian, the Wife of <i>Antonio Rodrigues</i> ; a Broker of Native and Inhabitant in <i>Monfanto</i> , in the Bishoprick of <i>Guarda</i> .	The same.
12. 18. <i>Maria Soares Pereyra</i> , a New Christian, not mar- ry'd, the Daughter of <i>Joan Lopes Castanho</i> , an Advocate, who is in this List, Native and Inhabitant in this City, who abjured <i>de Leve</i> , for the Faults of Ju- daism, in the Act of the Faith, that was ce- lebrated in the Hall of the Inquisition of this	Perpetual Prison and Habit,
	City,

City, on the 30th of
October, 1704. impri-
soned a second time,
upon new Discoveries
of the same Faults.

This Gentlewoman was not 15 Years
old when she was first a Prisoner in the
Inquisition.

13. 21. *Leoner Nunes, a New*
Christian, not marry'd;
the Daughter of *Luis*
Nunes, a Shop-keeper,
Native of the Town of
Chacim, in the Bishop-
rick of *Miranda*, and In-
habitant in this City;
who abjured *de Vehe-*
mente, for the Faults of *The same.*
Judaism, in the publick
Act of the Faith, which
was celebrated in the
City of *Conimbra* on
the 2d of *March*, 1704.
Imprisoned the second
time, upon new Disco-
veries of the same
Faults.

This

This Gentlewoman was not 18 Years old, when she was first a Prisoner in the Inquisition of *Coimbra*.

The Second Abjuration in Form for Judaism.

N ^o Ages.	Punishments.
14. 20. <i>Dona Catherina Henriques</i> , a New Christian, not marry'd, the Daughter of <i>Sebastian Dias de Sylva</i> , a Merchant, Native and Inhabitant in this City.	The same.
15. 42. <i>Isabel Mendes Furtada</i> , a New Christian, the Wife of <i>Manoel Pinheiro Ferro</i> , Native of the City of <i>Toledo</i> , in the Kingdom of <i>Castile</i> , and Inhabitant in the Town of <i>Francofo</i> , in the Bishoprick of <i>Viseu</i> , and Resident in this City.	The same.
16. 21. <i>Dona Thereza Barreira</i> , a New Christian, not marry'd, the Daughter of <i>Andre Barreira</i> , a Merchant, Native of the City of <i>Olinda</i> , in	The same.

the

N^o Ages. Punishments.

the Bishoprick of *Par-namburo*, in the State of *Brasil*, and Inhabitant in this of *Lisbon*, originally of the Kingdom of *Castile*.

17. 14. *Leonor Maria*, a New Christian, not marry'd; the Daughter of *Duarte Mendes*, a Shop-keeper, Native and Inhabitant in this City. } *The same.*

What a dismal thing must it be, for a Creature so young as this was, being under Fourteen when she was first thrown into the Prisons of the Inquisition, to spend Months, if not Years, all alone in a dark Hole, without seeing or hearing any living Creature, besides a dogged Keeper, and now and then the angry Inquisitors threatening her with the Tortures of the Rack, if she did not confess all her Heresies, and discover all her Teachers and Complices in them. And who can express the Agonies the Spirits of tender Parents are in, knowing their Children, whom they had bred up delicately, to be in such dreadful Circumstances; and these Agonies are the more torturing, for their not daring

daring to make the least Discovery of them, on pain of being suspected as Favourers of Hereticks. And how airy and beautiful soever these young Ladies are, when they are first arrested by a Familiar, they do, one and all, in the Procession of the Act of the Faith, either stalk like so many Walking Ghosts; or if they are carry'd, as they are pretty often, they look like so many Alabaster Statues, carried upon Hand-barrows; nothing of Colour, nor of Life, being to be seen in their Lips, nor about their Eyes, which are commonly shut close, by reason of their not being able to endure the Light after their having been so long in Darkness; the young Womens Countenances being commonly so much changed from what they were, that as they walk, or are carried in the Procession, they are not certainly known by their nearest Relations, and most Intimate Acquaintance.

N^o Ages.

Punishments.

18. 42. *Isabel de Moraes*, a New Christian, the Wife of *Francisco de Santiago*, a Farmer, Native of the Village of *Fundaon*, in the District of the Town of *Covilhan*, in

The same.

the

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N^o Ages. **Punishments.**

the Bishoprick of *Guar-*
da, and Inhabitant in
 this City.

19. 23. *Dona Anna Maria Hen-*
riques, a New Christian,
 not marry'd, the Daugh-
 ter of *Sebastian Dias de* The same.
Sylva, a Merchant, Na-
 tive and Inhabitant in
 this City.

The Third Abjuration in Forma for Judaism.

20. 37. *Philippa Garria*, a New
 Christian, the Wife of
Domingos da Costa de Mi-
randa, a Merchant,
 Native of the City of The same.
Barganza, in the Bi-
 shoprick of *Miranda*;
 and Inhabitant in this of
Lisbon.

21. 37. *Brites Carvalho*, a New
 Christian, the Wife of
Francisco Lopes Preto, a
 Physician, Native and
 Inhabitant in the Vil- The same.
 lage of *Fundaon*, in the
 District of the Town of
Covilhan, in the Bishop-
 rick of *Guarda*.

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N^o. Ages. Punishments.

22. 21. *Felippa de Deos*, a New Christian, not marry'd, the Daughter of *Elizeu Pimentel*, a Merchant, Native of the City of *Braganza*, in the Bishoprick of *Miranda*, and Inhabitant in this of *Lisbon*. The same.
23. 33. *Anna Feijo Flores*, a New Christian, the Wife of *Diogo de Avila de Seiras*, a Shop-keeper, Native and Inhabitant in the Town of *Celorigo*, in the Bishoprick of *Guarda*. The same.
24. 35. *Maria Mendes*, a New Christian, the Widow of *Alexandro de Moraes*, a Farmer, Native of the City of *Barganza*, in the Bishoprick of *Miranda*, and Inhabitant in this of *Lisbon*. The same.
25. 38. *Anna Mendes da Veyga*, a New Christian, the Wife of *Francisco Lopes Preto*, a Farmer, Native of the City of

Guar-

N^o. Ages.

Punishments.

Guarda, and Inhabitant in the Village of *Fundaon*, in the District of the Town of *Covilhan*, in the Bishoprick of the said City.

26. 31. *Dona Hieronima Henriques de Chares*, a New Christian, the Wife of *Gaspar Lopes Henriques*, a Physician, who is in this List, Native of the Village of *Fundaon*, in the District of the Town of *Covilhan*, in the Bishoprick of *Guarda*, and Inhabitant in this City; who abjured *de Vehemente*, for the Faults of Judaism, in a publick Act of the Faith, which was celebrated in the *Rocio* of this City, on the 20th of *October*, 1704. imprisoned a second time, upon new Discoveries of the same Faults.

The same.

The

The Fourth Abjuration in Forma for Judaism.

N^o Ages.

Punishments.

27. 19. *Catherina Maria Roza,*

a *New Christian*, not
marry'd ; the Daughter
of *Joan Lopes Castanho*,
an Advocate, who is
in this List, Native
and Inhabitant in this
City ; who abjured *de*
Vehemente, for the Faults
of Judaism, in a pub-
lick Act of the Faith,
which was celebrated
in the *Rocio* of this Ci-
ty, on the 20th of *Octo-*
ber, 1704. imprisoned
a second time, upon
new Discoveries of the
same Faults.

The same.

This Gentlewoman's having been a Pri-
soner in the Inquisition before she was 16
Years old, was enough to spoil her Marri-
age in *Portugal* for ever.

N^o Ages.

Punishments.

28. 37. *Anna Maria Rodrigues*,
a *New Christian*, Wi-
dow of *Andre Barreyra*,
a Merchant, Native of
the Court of *Madrid*,
in the Kingdom of *Ca-*
stile, and Inhabitant in
this City. The same.
29. 30. *Dona Guimar Maria*
Henriques, a *New Chri-*
stian, not marry'd, the
Daughter of *Sebastian*
Dias de Sylva, a Mer-
chant, Native and In-
habitant in this City. The same.
30. 17. *Dona Catherina Michae-*
la de Chares, a *New*
Christian, not marry'd,
the Daughter of *Gasper*
Lopes Henriques, a Phy-
sician, who is in this
List, Native and Inha-
bitant in this City. The same.
31. 22. *Custodia Henriques*, a
New Christian, not mar-
ry'd, the Daughter of
Simaon Lopes Samuda,
a Physician ; Native,
and Inhabitant in this
City. Perpetual
Prison and
Habit
without
Remission,
and 3 years
in Brazil.
Here

Here are three young Creatures ruined, whether they were ever set at Liberty, or not.

Persons deliver'd by the Court of the Inquisition to the Secular Magistrate.

N^o Ages.

Punishments.

1. 67. *Don Gabriel Luis de Medina, a New Christian, a Merchant, Native of the Court of Madrid, in the Kingdom of Castile, and Inhabitant in this of Lisbon ; Feigned, False, Dissembling, Confessing, Diminute, and Impenitent.*

2. 33. *Antonio Tavares da Costa, half a New Christian, a Merchant, Native and Inhabitant in this City ; Feigned, False, Dissembling, Confessing, Revoking, Varying, and Impenitent.*

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N^o Ages.

Punishments.

3. 26. *Maria Lopes de Sequeyra*, a *New Christian*, not marry'd; the Daughter of *Joseph de Sequeyra*, a Farmer of the Revenue, Native and Inhabitant in this City : *Feigned, False, Dissembling, Confessing, Diminute, and Impenitent.*

4. 54. *Dona Margarida Correa*, a *New Christian*, the Widow of *Thomas Pinto*, a Shop-keeper, Native of the City of *Malaga*, in the Kingdom of *Castile*, and Inhabitant in the Town of *Setuval*, in this Arch-Bishoprick : *Convicted, Negative, Pertinacious, and Relapsed.*

These Four, who were deliver'd to the Secular Court, were all burnt within two Hours after; notwithstanding the Inquisitors, in Words most passionate, petition the Secular Magistrates not to touch their
Lives:

Inquisition in Portugal, &c. 517

Lives : Which Petition, as I have shewed elsewhere, is the most profane and scandalous Mockery of God, and of Mercy, that is any where to be met with in History.

By this List we see what a terrible Havock is made by the Inquisition in *Portugal*, and especially among the trading People, to the great Diminution both of its Stock in Trade, and of the Number of its current and expert Merchants. For tho there were but four Persons burnt this Year in *Lisbon* by the Inquisition, there were above threescore undone by it ; which is a great Number, considering, that but the Year before there was such another Inquisition Goal-delivery, in that City ; and that but two Years before that there were two in it, and one in *Conimbra*, as appears from the foregoing List ; and besides the frequent Acts of the Faith, or Inquisition Goal-deliveries, in *Lisbon* and *Conimbra*, there are the same, and as frequent and numerous, in the City of *Evora*, and in *Goa* in the *East Indies* : By all which great Numbers of Families are undone every Year in *Portugal*, and in its Plantations. Any one of a Family's being taken up by the Inquisition goes a great way towards ruining it, filling them with such Horrors, as drive them into Countries that are out of the Reach

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of the Inquisitors and their Familiars;
which was the Case of the following Per-
son, who thereby sav'd his Life.

A Person executed in Estatua, or Effigie.

N ^o Age.	Punishments.
1. 63. <i>Francisco da Costa Pef- soa, a New Christian, a Merchant, Native and Inhabitant in this Ci- ty : Convicted, Nega- tive, Relapsed, and Ab- sent.</i>	

This Man's Picture, made of Pastboard, as big as the Life, was carried in the Procession, after the four Prisoners that were to be burnt in Person; and it was burnt at the same time, and in the same Place where they were burnt, notwithstanding the Inquisitors, when it was delivered by them to the Secular Arm, do, I think, petition that Power, not to touch the Life of its Original, so far as to do his Picture any hurt.

Great Numbers, upon their having any of their Relations taken up by the Inquisition, do flee from *Portugal*, notwithstanding it is so difficult for them to make their Escape, by reason of their not da-
ring

ring to go into *Spain*; which is the only way they have to escape by Land. The way by which they commonly make their Escape, is, by getting a-board an *English* or *Dutch* Man-of-War: And tho when they are a-board these Ships they are as safe from the Inquisition as they are in *England* and *Holland*, no Officers, Civil or Ecclesiastical, being ever suffered to come a-board those Ships to make any Search, yet those poor Wretches, tho they do know this, and upon the Knowledge of it did put themselves on board, yet, if they happen to hear *Portuguese* spoke upon the Deck, or in any of the Cabins, they tremble Hand and Foot, as if the Familiars of the Inquisition were come to carry them away; neither do they ever think they are safe, until they are landed in a Country where they know the Inquisition cannot reach them; being, after they are got out of the River, still in Fear, that the Ship may by Stress of Weather be cast away on the Coast of *Portugal* or *Spain*. And by the Terrors which these poor Fugitives are under, we may judge of the Terrors they are under in the Prisons of the Inquisition.

NARRATIVE

OF THE

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

Inquisition in *Lisbon*;

With a Person living now in *London*,
and well known in it; Taken from
his own Mouth, and published for
the Use of the hardy Champions of
the Inquisition, who are pleased to
call the View I gave of that Court,
a malicious Misrepresentation of it.

I Was born, baptized and bred in the
City of *Lisbon*, and was by my Pa-
rents, tho they were both *New Christians*,
edu-

E educated so entirely in the Religion of the *Roman Church*, that as I grew up, I never had the least Scruple in my Mind concerning the Truth of any of that Church's Doctrines, nor concerning the Lawfulness of any of her Precepts; and accordingly I did sincerely, and with no small Devotion, believe and practise all that the *Roman Church* taught and commanded.

As I was going on in this implicate Faith and Obedience to the Church of *Rome*, being one Day about my Business, which was Merchandizing, I was, at the Age of five and twenty, accosted in the Streets of *Lisbon* by two Familiars, who having asked me my Name, and the Place of my Habitation, and shewed me the Cross of the Inquisition, which they wore at their Breasts; they arrested me in the Name of the Holy Office, and having hurry'd me away to it, without suffering me to speak a Word to any body, they delivered me to a Warder, by whom I was thrown immediately into one of its Prisons; and as my Warder at our first Meeting called me Dog, so he ever after treated me as if I had been one. My Prison was five of my common Paces in Length, and three in Breadth; it had a little Light let into it by a Slit in the Wall, which was so narrow, that if I could have reached it with my

my Eye (which I could not) I should not have seen any thing thro' it, I had scarce turned my self round in the melancholy Hole, before a Bed was brought in, which was sent from my House by the Officers who had seiz'd on it, and sequestred all my Goods in the Minute that I was arrested. My Warder ask'd me doggedly about my Diet, and when I had told him what it used to be, he answered, you must not exceed three Vintems a Day, for that is all the Holy House allows you. A Vintem is about an English Penny Farthing.

The Knife that came with my first Meal, was of Bone, as are all the Knives in the Prisons of the Inquisition, to prevent the Prisoners cutting their Throats, or stabbing themselves with them; to which, by a dismal Solitude, Fears and ill Usage, they are too often tempted: For my own Part, being naturally active and stirring, my Life under that Confinement was so heavy a Burden to me, that I wished my self in my Grave a thousand times; and it was near two Years before I could perceive, that being used to it had made my Confinement any thing the easier; for as I had no Room to walk, so I had nothing to sit upon but the Ground, or my thin Quilt, which lay upon it; and being allowed nei-

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ther Book, Pen, Ink, nor Paper, nor any thing I could employ my self about, every Day appeared a Year to me.

I had not been a Fortnight in this wretched Solitude, when I was visited by one of the Inquisitors; he gave me the Time of the Day very courteously, and asked me whether I lacked for any thing? and whether my Warder was civil to me? Not daring to say otherwise, for fear of being worse treated, I said, My Warder, who was present, was very kind, and that I wanted such and such Things. But tho every thing that I had named was writ down, none of them were ever sent to me, as I, being a Novice in their Ways at that time, did expect they would have been. For the Truth is, this civil Visit of an Inquisitor, which is made constantly once a Month to every Prisoner in the Inquisition, is of no Benefit, and was instituted, and is continued for no other end, but to help the Inquisitors to the false Reputation of being civil to their Prisoners, and that they may not be thought to have any hand in the cruel Usage which they meet with from their Warders; to which ill Usage nevertheless the Inquisitors, tho they are not told of it by the Prisoners, when they ask them concerning it, cannot possibly be Strangers, since they know very well, that

that let it be never so bad, the Prisoners dare not complain of it to them, for fear of making it worse, if it be possible.

It was six long Months (for very long ones they seem'd to me, before a Word was said to me by any body concerning my Imprisonment; only my Warder call'd on me daily, (and seem'd always in a Rage) to be prepared to make a full Confession of all my Heresies, and of all my Complices in them; but at the End of six Months, an Alcalde came to me, and having commanded me to go along with him, he carried me into a Room where the Inquisitors were; who with great Courtesy desired me to sit down on a Stool by them; and tho I desired several times to be excus'd, they made me sit down. Being seated, I was asked by an Inquisitor, *Whether I knew for what Reason I had been taken up by the holy Office?* I answered; *If it were to save my Life I could not guess what it should be.* I was then asked by the same Inquisitor, *Who my Father and my Mother were? Where I was born? Where, and with whom I went to School? Whether I had any Brothers and Sisters? Whether I was marry'd? Who were my most familiar Acquaintances?* With twenty more such Questions: To all which having return'd true Answers, my Answers were all writ down
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from my Mouth by the Secretary. When that was over, the same Inquisitor, with a seeming great Tenderneſs for me, and for all my Concerns, but chiefly for the Health and Salvation of my poor Soul, which, he ſaid, was all that the holy Office aim'd at, told me, *That I was accus'd of Heresy, and of having committed divers Acts of Judaism; but as he hoped I had repented of those wicked Acts, so if I had, I could not but make an humble and full Confession of all my Heresies, and of all my Complices: to the doing whereof he passionately exhorted me.* My Answer was, *I had never in Thought, Word, nor Deed, been guilty of any Heresy; nor did I ever commit any Act that I knew to be an Act of Judaism; neither did I know what Judaism was.* The Inquisitor raising his Voice upon that, ſaid, *He was sorry to hear me say so; for there were clear Proofs before them of my Guilt; and that if there had not, I had never been disturbed by the holy Office.* And having thereupon run into high Encomiums of the extraordinary Mercy of the Inquisition to its Prisoners, who by making a full Confession of all their Heresies, and of all their Complices, did appear to be penitent. He entreated me, as I desired to partake of that Mercy, forthwith to make such a Confession. I reply'd, *I could not do it,*
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without wounding my Conscience, by accusing my self and others falsely, which I was sure their Lordships did not desire I should do. They said, They did not; but being satisfy'd of my Guilt, they conjured me to confess it. And having told them as before, That being innocent, I could not do it with a safe Conscience; they said, It was a great Trouble to them to see me so impenitent; and commanded me to go back to my Apartment, and strictly to examine my Conscience there, in order to the unburdening of it to them, to the saving of my Soul: And having rung a little Bell, the Alcalde came in, and carry'd me back to my Prison; where, to do them Justice, they allowed me Time enough for the examining of my Conscience; for it was full six Months more before I had any Interruption from the Inquisitors; when I was by the same Alcalde carry'd before them a second time, and having made me sit down as before, they said, They hoped I came prepared to make a full and humble Confession of all my Heresies, and of all my Complices. I answer'd as before, I had never been guilty of any Heresy, nor had I ever committed any Acts of *Judaism*, and so could have no Complices in them: And for their farther Satisfaction, I did solemnly protest, that I was as innocent as the Child

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unborn. At this they all lifted up their Eyes, and shook their Heads, and told me with stern Countenances, that they were sure that was false. I was then asked by them, whether I did not remember that I had committed some Acts of *Judaism*; but without naming any to me. I answer'd, In my whole Life I had never committed any, and whoever they were that had accused me of them, had wronged me very much; and did therefore humbly beseech their Lordships, as they desired not to condemn an innocent Person, not to give any Credit to those Accusers; offering, if they would but let me know who they were, to prove them to be false. But instead of telling me who were my Accusers, (which they will never do to any Prisoner) they told me, They were satisfy'd I was a harden'd Heretick; and commanded me to go back to my Apartment, and pray to God, to touch my Conscience with such a Sense of my Guilt, as would oblige me to unburthen it to them: And being carry'd back to my Prison as before, I had six Months more given me to pray as they had directed; when being carry'd before the Inquisitors a third time, tho I had still the Civility of the Seat, their Countenances were much grimmer than I had seen them before. After many long
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Expostulations and Denunciations of Woes against Hereticks, as the worst of People; they said, They hoped I came prepared to make a full Confession of all my Heresies and Complices: I answer'd as before, I had never been guilty of any Heresy in Thought, Word, nor Deed, and so can have no Complices in any. They told me, They knew that was false, and that if I continu'd obstinate, they should be forc'd to use rigorous Methods with me, meaning the Rack. I reply'd, They might do with me what they pleased, but I hop'd I should have the Grace never to accuse my self nor any body else falsely, as I must, if I confessed the Acts they had charged me with. They said, I was a most harden'd Heretick, and bid me go back to my Apartment, and pray for Grace to confess, and not deny the Heresies I had been guilty of. Being return'd to my Prison, the Rack, to which I expected to have been carry'd every Hour, was Day and Night in my Thoughts: But I was mistaken, for in nine Months I heard no more from the Inquisitors, and was during all that time baited so by my Warder, that I trembled at the very Sight of him. After that, to my great Surprize, one who was a Prisoner in the Inquisition was turn'd into me, and finding that I was like to have him for

a Companion, tho he was an utter Stranger to me, I was much comforted with his Presence : But we had not been long together, before I plainly perceiv'd by his Discourse, that his Errand to me was, to perswade me to confess ; and after he had once broke that Matter to me, he teaz'd me Day and Night so to do it, that I heartily wished my self alone again. I ask'd him at last, whether he himself had confess'd ? he said, He had not, and being innocent, could not do it. I told him, he could not be more innocent than I was ; and did therefore beg of him to let us talk of something else. But in vain, for he was still harping on the same string.

The Inquisitors being informed, I suppose, by our Warder (who was wonderful civil to my Companion, and did use to whisper with him) that there was no likelihood of his being able to prevail with me to confess, he was after some Weeks, to my great Ease, removed ; and being soon after carried before the Inquisitors a fourth time, I was asked by them, whether I came now prepared to confess all my Heresies and Complices ; and having told them as before, that I could not do it with a safe Conscience, the Fiscal was called in, and commanded to read my Process to me ; which he did very distinctly. The

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greatest part of it was nothing but Forms, aggravating the great Sinfulness of Heresy, and the Damnable Estate all Hereticks were in ; and extolling the Mercy and Justice of the holy Office. Its Substance was, the charging me home with the Acts of Judaism in general, without naming any, together with a Declaration of my Guilt's being sufficiently proved by two unexceptionable Witnesses ; but they were not named.

When the Fiscal had done reading, I was asked what I had to say for my self? My Answer was, I had never committed any such Acts, and that did I but know who they were that witnessed against me, I did not doubt of being able to prove 'em to be my mortal Enemies, and to have accus'd me out of Malice. The Inquisitors said nothing to that, but told me, since I was resolv'd to make my Defence, they would appoint a Lawyer to assist me in it. I thank'd their Lordships for that Favour, but withal declared to them, that the most holy Father himself was not a truer Christian than I was. They seem'd to be very angry at this, and bid me go back to my Apartment, like an harden'd Heretick as I was. A few Days after, I was visited by a Lawyer, who told me, he was appointed by the Lords Inquisitors to be my

my Advocate ; but that being of Opinion I was guilty, he thought the best Office he could do me, was to advise me to confess, that I might find Mercy both from God, and from the holy Office. I told him over and over, I was as innocent as the Child unborn ; but that did not hinder him from seeking by twenty Arts and Windings to have drawn me insensibly into a Confession ; neither did he give over, until I had stopped his Mouth, by telling him, I thought he had come to me to be my Advocate, and not my Confessor. He then ask'd me, what I had to offer in my Defence besides my own Word, which, he said, was little regarded by the Lords Inquisitors. I told him, I was sorry for that ; but whoever they were that had accus'd me, were certainly mine Enemies, and had done it out of Malice ; and that could I but know who they were, I should prove it upon them. He reply'd, there was no need of that, for would I but confess all my Complices, he doubted not but I would light on my Accusers. I said, I could have no Complices in Acts I had never committed ; but by running over all mine Enemies, I did hope I might in a Day or two find out who they were that had accused me. He said, that would do well, but that I must likewise

have Proofs of their being my Enemies; and having desired me to provide them, he left me for that time. Never was any Man's Mind more perplexed for two Days and two Nights than mine was, to find out who they should be that had accused me; and as I doubted not of their having done it either upon the Rack, or to save their Lives, so I did resolve to pitch on two of my Acquaintance, whom I knew to be in the Prisons of the Inquisition before I was taken up by it; and having at last fixed on two, who above all others were, I thought, the most likely to have accused me, I did resolve to name them to my Advocate, as my Enemies, and to name Witnesses that should prove it; and accordingly, when my Advocate returned, I delivered their Names to him, and the Places of their Habitation; which he writ down, and did promise to see the whole Matter strictly examined, and to serve me in it as far as his Conscience would allow him. What was done in it by my Advocate and the Inquisitors, is unknown to me; only my Advocate returning after some Weeks, did with much Choler tell me, I had given the Lords Inquisitors and him a great deal of Trouble, to no manner of purpose, and that if I did not confess, I would in a short time be certainly condemn'd

demn'd to the Rack With that my Advocate (who, I suppose, was paid his Fees out of my forfeited Goods) and I parted, and did never see one another any more.

My Advocate's having at parting told me, that if I did not confess I should certainly be put on the Rack, disturbed me extremely. However I resolv'd not to do it, in Contradiction to my Conscience ; and in that Resolution I continu'd, until another Prisoner of the Inquisition, who to avoid the Torture, had confess'd, was turn'd in to me ; and tho this, as well as the former, was quite a Stranger to me, yet he told his Story so well, and us'd so many Arguments to convince me, that nothing but a Confession could save me from the Rack, which would certainly extort one from me ; that I was determin'd to confess, tho being innocent I did not know how to go about it. All the Acts of Judaism that I could think of I did resolve to confess ; but when I came to consider, whom I should accuse of having been my Complices in Acts which I had never committed, I was in a terrible Plunge, knowing, that if I should accuse a Thousand, if I did not light on the two that were the Witnesses against me, it would do me no Good ; and how to find

out who they were, puzzl'd me extreamly : However I resolv'd to accuse the two I had before named to my Advocate as my Enemies ; and, to make sure work, I added eight more of my Acquaintance to them ; and having settled that whole Affair in my Head, I desired my Warder to supplicate the Lords Inquisitors to let me have a *Board*, for so an Audience in the Inquisition is called. And so officious was my Warder to serve me in this Case, that I had a *Board* granted me the same Day. When I came before the Inquisitors, I threw my self down at their Feet, and did beg God's and their Pardon for my Obstinacy. They spoke to me to rise up, and said, they were glad to see me so well dispos'd. I told them, God forgive me for it ; that the Night before the holy Spirit had touch'd my Conscience so, that I was not able to stand out any longer, and so had resolv'd to make an humble and full Confession to their Lordships. They said, I would do very well, and bid me begin. I then confess'd to them, that I had been guilty of all the Acts of Judaism wherewith I stood charged in my Process, and did add several more to them of the same sort. I was much commended by the Inquisitors for this my Ingenuity, and they bid me be as ingenuous in the Confession of my Complices.

plices. I named ten Persons to them, who, I said, had all join'd with me in Acts of Judaism, whose Names, and the Places of their Habitations, were all writ down from my Mouth by the Secretary. I was much praised by the Inquisitors; but withal they told me, that my Confession was diminute, for I had Complices which I had not nam'd. I answer'd, that if I had any more, I had forgot them. They said, they did not believe I had, and so commanded me to go back to my Apartment, and rub up my Memory. My Mind was now in a greater Anxiety than ever, for I had already nam'd all that I could think of, that were likely to have accused me; however after many an uneasy Thought, I did pitch on two more, and having done it, I did, by my Warder, supplicate to have another *Board*; which having been granted, I named those two to the Inquisitors. They said, I had done well, but that they knew that I had not as yet named all my Complices; and tho I did assure them that I could not remember any more, and that if they would but let me know who they were that I had omitted, I would tell them truly whether they had been my Complices or not. They bid me go back to my Apartment, and consider further of it. I did so, but with

so heavy a Heart, that I wished my self dead a thousand times, and did wish also that I had never made any Confession, to the wronging of others, and of my own Conscience: And tho I had not the Courage to go before the Inquisitors, and revoke the false Confession which I had made, yet I did resolve not to accuse any more, let them do what they would to me; and namely, not my Brother, who was very dear to me, and who, tho he was not in the Inquisition when I was taken up, might, I feared, have been taken up soon after, and to prevent his being racked, might have accused me as one of his Complices; and having for that Reason supplicated for no more *Boards*, tho my Warder roar'd at me continually for not doing it, for some Weeks I heard nothing from the Inquisitors: But being at last carry'd before them by an Alcalde, they ask'd me, Whether I did not remember any more of my Complices, besides those I had named to them? I protested to them that I could not, and that if they would but be pleas'd to let me know who they were that I had not named, I would be sure to tell them the Truth. They said, there was no need of that, for they knew I could not have forgot them, and that if I did not confess them quickly, I should be put to the Question.

stion. I told them, I was the unhappiest Man alive, and begg'd of them to shew me some Mercy. They said, they were ready to do it, if I would confess all my Complices, and bid me go back to my Apartment, and consider of it again: I did so, and with Agonies of Mind which no Tongue is able to express. After some Days an Alcalde came to me, and told me, he was order'd by the Lords Inquisitors to carry me to the Torture. I bitterly lamented the Sadness of my Condition to him, and told him that I was so weak, for I had not slept for several Days, that I should certainly die if I were tortured: But I was, notwithstanding all I could say, carry'd by him to the Place where the Torture is given; where besides the Executioner, and some who seem'd to be Porters, there was an Inquisitor, a Scrivener, a Physician, and Chirurgion. The Inquisitor, as soon as I came in, apply'd himself to me, and with a seeming great Compassion beseeched me to make a full Confession of all my Complices, that I might not be put to the Question. I told him, I had done that already, and that to save my Life I could not remember that I had any more Complices than I had named. The Executioner was all this while preparing the Rack, and when he had done that,

that, having stripped me naked to my Drawers, the Inquisitor left me to him. The first thing the Executioner did, he brought both my Arms behind my Back, and ty'd them together so with a small Cord, that the Blood was ready to have gushed out at the Ends of my Fingers. When that was done, which put me to great Pain, with a Pulley the Executioner by the Cord drew me up two or three Foot off the Ground: None that have not felt it, can possibly imagine how great the Torture was that I endured then; the Bones of my Shoulder-blades being both presently drawn out of their Places, by the whole Weight of my Body's swinging in the Air upon my Arms in that Posture; and in Truth the Pain was so insupportable, that I really thought I was just expiring; and having cry'd out that I was, the Physician came and felt my Pulse, and said it was true, and that if I was not let down presently, I was a dead Man. Upon his Word I was let down, and tho the Pain I was in after I was upon the Ground, was very great, it was nothing to the Pain I was in whilst I hung shaking in the Air. After I had recovered my Spirits a little again, my Inquisitor came to me, and asked me why I was so cruel to my self, as to endure the Torture rather than confess all.

all my Complices. Upon a little Recollection, I named two more to him. He said, I had done well, but that my Confession was still diminute, and did with a seeming wonderful great Tenderness beg of me to name them, that the Torture might not be repeated. I could not yet prevail with my self to accuse my poor Brother, tho I had now great Reason to believe he was one of the Persons that had accused me; but not being certain of it, I did resolve to endure the Torture again, rather than accuse him; and having told the Inquisitor positively, that if they would tear me to Pieces I could not remember any more, he left me to the Executioner, who drew me off the Ground as before. I hung in an Extremity of Torture, until the Physician cry'd out, I would expire presently, if I had not some Ease given me. So I was let down, but was not in some time after I was upon the Ground able to speak a Word. As soon as I came to my Speech the Inquisitor return'd to me, and asked me the same Question as before: But instead of giving him any Answer, I wish'd passionately, that they had been so kind to me, as to have suffered me to have died when I was so near it. The Inquisitor storm'd at this, and having called me a desperate and impenitent

penitent Heretick, he ask'd me, whether I did not believe the Torments of Hell-Fire, into which I must have gone infallibly, if I had died then, denying my Complices, to be infinitely more painful than the Tortures I endur'd on the Rack. I told him, I should certainly die if I was tortur'd any more, Nature being scarce able to bear the Pain I was in at present. The Inquisitor said, it was in my own Power to prevent it, and did, according to the Forms of the Inquisition, beg me to do it; and so he left me to the Executioner, by whom I was drawn up a third time, and did hang in the Air till my Senses were quite gone, by reason of the Extremity of the Torture. How long I hung after that, or how long I had been on the Ground before I came to my self, I cannot tell; but after my Senses were return'd the Inquisitor return'd to me again, and did, according to the Stiles of the Inquisition, earnestly beg'd of me not to be thus cruel to my self; and having hinted to me, that if I did not confess some more Complices, the Torture would be repeated; my Heart failed me, and I told him, that I did not know but that my Brother, whom I had not yet named, might have joined with me in some of the Acts of *Judaism*, which I had confessed; but not being

ing certain of it, I had been unwilling to accuse him. The Inquisitor answer'd, if my Brother had been one of my Complices, I could not but be certain of it, and that if I did not confess that he was, the Torture would be repeated, to make me tell the Truth. Upon that I own'd to him, that I was certain of my Brother's having been one of my Complices, but that the great natural Affection which I had for my Brother, hindred me so long from accusing him. I was upon that Confession carry'd back to my Prison, to which I was attended by the Physician and Chirurgion. The Chirurgion put all my disjointed Bones into their Places again, and the Physician having felt my Pulse, let me Blood twice that Day, to prevent a strong Fever which he apprehended was coming upon me; and he had reason, for before next Morning I was light-headed, and in my Distraction, as I was told afterwards by an Inquisitor, I had called all the Inquisitors, and all the Warders, Dogs and Devils, and had said all the ill things of them that a distemper'd Fancy could suggest. After my Fever, which lasted near a Fortnight, was pretty well over, I was visited by an Inquisitor, and a Scrivener. The Inquisitor ask'd me, whether I remembered all that I had said during my Sickness,

ness, and seem'd to believe I did. I assured him I did not, having been out of my Senses for several Days. He then told me of my having called them all Dogs and Devils in a most outrageous manner. I said I was very sorry for it, but did not remember that I had ever spoke any such Words; tho to speak the Truth, after the Inquisitor had repeated them to me, I had something of a confus'd Memory of them. The Confession I had made on the Rack, was then read to me by the Notary, and the Inquisitor ask'd me whether it was true, and whether I would set my Hand to it? But tho to do it went so against my Conscience, that I had rather have lost my right Hand, than have sign'd it; yet knowing that if I did not, I should certainly be sent back to the Rack, I did sign it, as well as the Pain of my Arm, which when I moved it was still very sore, would allow me. I was for near a Month after this very quiet, neither was my Warder quite so dogged to me as before; but being after that carry'd before the Inquisitors again, I was severely reprov'd by them for my great Obstinacy. But that was not their chief Business at this time, for they enquired of me very strictly, whether I had any Money owing to me, and in whose Hands it was; I told them, I
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was but a young Man, and just set up, when I was arrested, and that I did owe Money, which I had borrowed, but had none owing to me; upon that, the Fiscal being present, they commanded me, under pain of Excommunication, to tell them the Truth in that matter: I said I had done it, and did name my Creditors to them; but I did not observe that they writ down their Names, nor did they seem to regard what I had said concerning them. In a few days after this Board, I was carried by an Alcalde to a Room where a Jesuit came to instruct all the Penitents that were to go out in the next Act of the Faith, in the Elements of the Christian Religion: This Lecture continued till the Vespers of that Act, and being carried early the next Morning into a great Hall, which was full of Prisoners, I had there the Habit of *Fuego Revolto* put upon me, which I wore in the Procession, and was at night brought back again to the Inquisition, where I was kept some Weeks, and was catechized every Day, to instruct and confirm me in the Roman Faith and Observances, several of which I had almost forgot during the long time of my Imprisonment: During all which time, I never saw a Confessor, nor did I ever hear Mass; nor was I ever spoke to, to exercise any of the Rites of Worship.

ship. When I was thought to be sufficiently instructed and confirmed, I was carried before the Inquisitors, who gave me a long Admonition, and did at last prohibit me, under pain of the greater Excommunication, ever to divulge to any Person, any thing that I had heard, seen, or suffered in the Holy Office; and with that, they turned me out into the wide World, after I had been four Years and eight Months a Prisoner in the Inquisition.

I went strait to my House, where I found a Family had been settled for some Years; I asked them where all my Goods were: they said, they were told they were all removed by the Order of the Fiscal the day after I was arrested: I went to the Fiscal to have them, or at least some of them, to help me to Bread, but I never had the Value of one Vintem from him: I remained some Months in *Lisbon* in a poor Condition, but having at last got a little Money to pay for my Passage, I stole on board an English Ship one Night that was to sail next Morning, on which I got to *England*, where I have been ever since.

‘ After I had taken the Substance of this
 ‘ Narrative from the Relater’s Mouth in
 ‘ *Portuguese*, I asked him several Questions,
 ‘ which I shall here set down, with his
 ‘ An-

Answers to them. I asked him first, Why, if he were a sincere Romanist, as he said he was, he did leave *Portugal*. His Answer was, That having seen the ways by which People were brought into the Inquisition, he thought he, being a new Christian, should be still in danger of being carried back to that Hell, as he called it. I then asked him how, if he had not been inclined to *Judaism* before, he came to turn *Jew* in *England*; he said, being by Birth a new Christian, he had some Relations among the *Portuguese Jews* in *London*, by whom he was kindly entertained, and who did all speak *Portuguese*, or *Spanish*, which were all the Languages he understood. I asked him, whether the Cruelties which had been exercised upon him in the Inquisition, had not prejudiced him very much against the Christian Faith? he confessed they had; but he said, he had other Reasons for his having changed his Religion. I told him, that tho that was enough to prejudice him against Popery, by whose Spirit and Ministers those Cruelties in Matters of Religion were exercised, yet having come among Protestants, whose Religion condemns all such Cruelties, he ought not to have renounced the Christian Faith, but to

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have embraced that Faith as it was taught in the Church of *England*; he owned, the Protestant Religion was for that, and for divers other Reasons better than the *Roman*; but being himself of the Seed of *Abraham*, and of the Tribe of *Judah*, he said he was convinced he could be saved in no other Law, but in that of *Moses*; which *Christians* and *Mahometans*, as well as the *Jews*, did own to have been promulgated by the great God himself. I told him, that was very true, but that it was manifest from the Scriptures of the Old Testament, that the Ceremonial part of that Law was to be abolished by the coming of the *Messias*, to make way for a more spiritual Dispensation. His Reply to this was, that God was unchangeable, but withal he told me positively, that he would not, with me, nor with no Body else, enter into any Dispute about that Matter. I asked him whether he did not think he might have been saved if he had turned Protestant when he came into *England*, and had lived and died in that Faith? He answered, being of the Seed of *Abraham*, he could be saved in no other Law, but in that of *Moses*; but for the Nations of the World, which were not descended from *Abraham*, he believed, if they

‘they led holy Lives, they might all be
‘saved in their several Sects. He seemed
‘to have much Charity for Men of all
‘Religions, except *Jews* not professing the
‘Law of *Moses*, and the Inquisitors, and
‘their Officers; who, he said, were not
‘Men, but Devils come from Hell, who
‘having taken the Shape of Men upon
‘them, must, when they left the Bodies
‘which they had assumed, return to the
‘Place from whence they came; and of
‘this he seemed to be fully perswaded,
‘so powerfully was his Judgment of the
‘Inquisitors and their Officers, influenced
‘by the Aversion he had for them, which
‘I do own was the strongest I had ever
‘seen in any Case; neither is it to be won-
‘dred at, if his Narrative of their Pro-
‘ceedings with him be true, as he more
‘than once did solemnly protest to me
‘it was, to the best of his Remem-
‘brance: And in Truth I am the more apt
‘to believe it to be so, because it contains
‘nothing that contradicts what the Inqui-
‘sitors themselves have published in their
‘Books, concerning their Proceedings
‘with their Prisoners; from which, as
‘well as from this Narrative, ’tis mani-
‘fest that the Inquisition has Appearances
‘of Mercy, only in established Forms and
‘Stiles; but is for Unrighteousness and

Inhumanity such a Court as was never before heard of on Earth. And tho for this Reason, there was no Nation that did not at first strive violently against the setting up of the Inquisition in it, Rome it self not excepted, where the People, as soon as that Pope was dead, who in his last Minutes had called the Inquisition, the *Balwark of the Roman Church*, did all rise, and burn all its Papers and Buildings down to the Ground: Yet, by some Sorcery or other, as one would think, that justly odious Court is since become the Palladium and Idol of all the old *Spanish* and *Portuguese* Christians. For which great Change, I could never see any thing that looked like a Reason, besides that ill-natur'd one, of Peoples loving to see others in Fears and Dangers, provided they themselves be safe, or do imagine that they are so, which all the old *Portuguese* Christians think they are; and that because the Inquisition in all Cases, wherein the *Roman Church* is not immediately concern'd, as in the Cases of *Sodomy* and *Bigamy*, are much more merciful than the Civil Courts are in the same Kingdoms: And those two Crimes were, I reckon, brought under the Inquisition's Cognizance, for no other end, but to drown the Noise, which they

‘ they knew its barbarous Cruelties, ex-
‘ ercis’d in all Cases relating immediately
‘ to the Faith of the *Roman* Church, must
‘ necessarily raise in the World, by its ex-
‘ traordinary Mercifulness in these two
‘ vile Cases. But by these and many other
‘ like subtle Devices the Inquisition is e-
‘ stablish’d and kept up; so that it may
‘ be justly doubted, whether is greater,
‘ the wicked Policy of those that set it up,
‘ or the Folly and Stupidity of the Nations,
‘ that do not only submit to it, but are
‘ fond of it. And truly of the *Portugueses*
‘ being fond of the Inquisition, I was fully
‘ convinc’d, by their Behaviour in the
‘ great and long Contest which was be-
‘ twixt the stiff old Pope *Odischalchi* and
‘ the Inquisition in that Kingdom, during
‘ the time I was in *Lisbon*.

Inquisition in Portugal &c. 249

they knew its barbarous Cruelties, ex-
 ercised in all Cases relating immediately
 to the Faith of the Roman Church, must
 necessarily raise in the World, by its ex-
 traordinary Mischances in these two
 vile Cases. But by these many other
 like subtle Devices the Inquisition is es-
 tablished and kept up, so that it may
 be justly doubted, whether it is greater
 the wicked Policy of those that set it up,
 or the Folly and Stupidity of the Nations,
 that do not only submit to it, but are
 fond of it. And truly of the Portuguese
 being fond of the Inquisition, I was fully
 convinced, by their Behaviour in the
 great and long Council which was be-
 twixt the first old Pope Sixtus and
 the Inquisition in that Kingdom, during
 the time I was in Lisbon.

THE
SPANISH
PROTESTANT
Martyrology.

By Michael Geddes, LL. D. and Chan-
cellor of the Cathedral Church of
Sarum.

*How long, O Lord, holy and true, dost thou
not judge and avenge our Blood on them
that dwell on the Earth? Rev. VI. 10.*

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PRELACE

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and his son Philip, into Germany, England, and

their Book, been then



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and full stop been put to their great

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that will call to the knowledge and love of

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THE PREFACE.

THE Eminent Spanish Divines, that were sent by the Emperor Charles V. and his Son Philip, into Germany, England, and Flanders, to convert the Protestants in those Countries to the Roman Faith, having, by conversing with the Reformers, and reading their Books, been themselves converted to the Catholick, return'd home full of Zeal to propagate that holy Faith through their Native Country. And being Persons, both by their exemplary Piety, and great Learning, extremely well qualify'd for so great and blessed a Work, their Success in it was such, that had not a speedy and full Stop been put to their pious Labours by the merciless Inquisition, the whole Kingdom of Spain had in all likelihood been converted to the Protestant Religion, in less time than any other Country had been ever before; so mightily grew the Word of God, and prevail'd by the Labours of such great Men, who had been called to the Knowledge and Love of it, after such an extraordinary manner.

And

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And to satisfy the Reader, that I do not affirm this without good Warrant, I shall here set down what is said concerning those holy Men, by the Writer of the Historia Pontifical, a zealous Papist, and by Paramus, an Inquistor, in his History of the Inquisition.

In former times, saith the Author, of the *Historia Pontifical*, the Prisoners that were brought out of the Inquisition to be burnt, or with *St. Benitos*, were mean People, and of a bad Race. But in these latter Years we have seen its Prisons, Scaffolds, and Stakes, filled with illustrious Persons of noble Families, and with others, who, as to all outward Appearances, had great Advantages over their Neighbours, as well for their Learning, as for their Piety. Now the Fountain of this, and of many more Evils, saith he, was our Catholick Princes (out of the great Affection which they had for Germany, England, and other Countries, that were not under the Obedience of the *Roman Church*) having sent divers learned Men and Preachers, out of Spain into those Parts; hoping by their Sermons to have converted those that were in Error, to the way of Truth; but such was their Misfortune, that instead of reaping Fruit by that Diligence, the Preachers that had been thus sent by them, to give Light to others, returned home blind themselves. And having

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ving either been deceiv'd, or possess'd with an Ambition of being esteemed learned, and of having improved themselves in those Foreign Countries, they followed the Example of the Hereticks, who had broach'd Heresy in them.

And in another Place, the same Author speaking of the same Persons, and of the Converts which they had made, saith, All the Prisoners in the Inquisitions of Valedolid, Sevil, and Toledo, were Persons abundantly well qualify'd. I shall here pass their Names in Silence, that I may not by their bad Fame, stain the Honour of their Ancestors, and the Nobility of the several illustrious Families which were infected with this Poison. And as those Prisoners were Persons thus qualify'd, so their Number was so great, that had the stop which was put to that Evil been delay'd 2 or 3 Months longer, I am perswaded all Spain had been put in a Flame by them.

And of the Disposition Spain was in at this time, viz. betwixt the Year 1550, and 1560. to have embrac'd the Protestant Religion, we have a farther Testimony from Paramus, who in his History of the Inquisition affirms, That had not the Inquisition taken care in time, to have put a stop to those Protestant Preachers, the Protestant Religion would have run through Spain like Wild-fire; People of all Degrees, and of both Sexes having been won-

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wonderfully dispos'd to embrace it.

So powerful were the Doctrines of the Reformation in those Days, that no Prejudices, nor Interests, were any where strong enough to hinder piously disposed Minds, after they came thoroughly to understand them, from embracing them. And that the same Doctrines have not still the same divine Force, is neither owing to their being grown older, nor to Popery's not being so gross, nor to any Change in Peoples natural Dispositions, but is owing purely to the want of the same Zeal for those Doctrines in their Professors, and especially for the three great Doctrines of the Reformation, which the following Martyrs sealed with their Blood: which were, That the Pope is Anti-Christ; That the Worshipp of the Church of Rome is idolatrous; and that a Sinner is justify'd in the Sight of God by Faith, and through Christ's, and not thro' his own Merits.

There be two things the Reader of this Martyrology ought to be advertis'd of; the one is, That no Credit is to be given to Inquisitors and their Creature's Reports of the Prisoners that are put to Death by them, since nothing is more notorious, than their reckoning it to be so far from being a Sin, that they reckon it to be meritorious, by Slanders and Calumnies, to rob all of their Good-name, whom they deprive of their Lives; representing'em always as such Monsters of Wickedness, that whatever their

Re-

The PREFACE. 557

Religion had been, they had deserved for their Immoralities to have suffered Death.

So when vast Numbers of the Albigenes were put to Death, for having separated themselves from the Communion of the Roman Church, on the account of the Idolatry of her Worship, the Inquisitors had the Confidence to affirm, That they held it lawful to deny the Christian Faith with their Mouths, to avoid being Persecuted for it; and that they affirmed that the Devil, having been unjustly thrown out of Heaven, ought to be worshipped more than God; and that promiscuous Venerly was lawful, but Matrimony was Hell and Damnation, and that the murdering of Infants, and drinking of their Blood, was their daily Practice in their Assemblies of Worship.

And as the Inquisitors do in this vile and unmanly Course imitate their Predecessors, the Heathen Persecutors of the Christian Faith; so, if I am not mistaken, all such Persecutors are forced to take this base Course in their own Defence; and that because the great Body of Mankind have still too much good Nature and Humanity left in them, long to suffer People whose Lives are owned to be unblamable, to be tortured, and put to cruel Deaths, meerly on the account of some speculative Perswasions in Religion.

The second thing the Reader of this Martyrology is to be advertis'd of, is, Not to wonder

der at his meeting with no Account of what was said by the following Martyrs, either at their Tryals, or at their Death. For as all things within the Inquisition, where they were try'd, were transacted with a wonderful Secrecy; so if any of its Prisoners, when they are brought out to be burnt, do either in the Procession, or on the Scaffold, where they receive the Sentence of Death, or at the Stake, offer to speak a Word in Defence of the Religion they are about to die for, they are immediately gagged, and not suffer'd to speak a Word more.

And thus that Unity the Roman Church boasts of so much, is preserved by Methods which must necessarily maintain Unity in any Body of Men. For can any Society that destroys all presently that differ from it, let its Errors be never so many, or so gross, be possibly troubled with any Divisions? And as that Pope, who on his Death-bed called the Inquisition, The Pillar of the Church of Rome, was perfectly in his Senses when he spoke these Words, so I doubt that Church will never do its bold Pretence to Infallibility, which it would persuade the World is the Cause of its Unity, the Honour to try how it would maintain Unity in it, without the help of Inquisitions, and other sanguinary Methods.

THE

THE
SPANISH
PROTESTANT
Martyrology.

ABout the Year 1440, great numbers of People were, at the Instigation of the Inquisitors, driven by the King's Musqueteers out of the Highlands of *Durango* in *Biscay*, to *Valedo-lla*, and *Domingo de Calcada*, who were burnt alive at those places, for refusing to abjure divers Doctrines which are condemned as Heretical by the *Roman Church*.

We are not told what the Doctrines were such multitudes of People were thus put to death for professing; but it is more than probable, that they were the same with those of the *Vaudois* among the *Alpes*; the Primitive Faith having, till about this time, been preserved entire in some Mountainous and almost inaccessible Countries, by reason of their having never been before haunted by any *Papish Fryars* or Inquisitors

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to corrupt it, or to punish its stedfast Professors with death.

Mr. Nicholas Burton.

The first that suffered Martyrdom in Spain for being a Protestant, that we read of, was *Mr. Nicholas Burton*, an English Factor, who was burnt at *Sevil*, in the Reign of *Queen Mary of England*. *Mr. Burton's* Goods and Notes having been all seized when he was apprehended, the Merchants of *London*, to whom those Goods and Notes belonged, sent one *Mr. Frampton* to recover them, and dispose of them: But the Inquisitors, after having baffled *Mr. Frampton* for some Months with frivolous pretences, did put a full stop to his Negotiation, by imprisoning him on suspicion of Heresy.

Dr. Augustine Cazalla.

In the Year 1558, *Dr. Augustine Cazalla*, Canon of the Church of *Salamanca*, who had been for several Years Chaplain and Preacher to the Emperor *Charles V.* in *Germany*, was taken up and imprisoned by the Inquisition of *Valedolid*, for being a Protestant; as was also his Mother *Donna Leonora de Vivera*, at whose House the Protestants used to assemble to worship God; and his

his three Brothers, and two Sisters, and their Servants ; who had been all converted by him to the Catholick Faith. For such I do reckon the Protestant to be, for that it is the same with that Faith, that was profess'd by the whole Christian Church when the Creeds were made. This most pious and learned Martyr is acknowledged by *Paragmus* an Inquisitor, to have *been a most Eloquent Preacher*: And one who after having undergone all the Cruelties of the merciless Court of Inquisition, in which his Mother died, was with thirteen more, professing the Protestant Religion, brought forth and burnt to Ashes in an *Act of the Faith*. The Inquisitors gave out after his Death, That he had reconciled himself to the Church of *Rome* in their Prisons ; which they did on purpose to prejudice his Converts against his Memory and Doctrines. For had he been penitent, why did they burn him, having never relapsed ? And would it not have been more for their Interest to have suffer'd him to live, and to have obliged him to have preached to his Converts to follow his Example, than to have burnt him out of the way ?

Herezulo.

Herezulo, a most devout and eminent Lawyer, was burnt alive at the same time,

and in the same place with Dr. *Cazalla*, by whom he had been converted. I have nothing more to relate of this Blessed Martyr, but what is said of the admirable Constancy and Courage wherewith he suffered the cruel Death of being burnt alive, by the Writer of the *Historia Pontifical*, who was present at his Martyrdom: I was so near the Batchelor *Herezulo*, when he was burnt alive, saith the Writer, that I observed all his Gestures and Motions; for he could not speak, having his Mouth gagged for the Blasphemy he had uttered against the Roman Church; he appeared to me to be a most resolute and hardened Person; and tho I marked him very narrowly, I did not discover the least Sign or Expression of any Uneasiness in him; only, that he had a Sadness in his Countenance, beyond any thing I had ever seen before.

Dr. *Perez*.

Dr. *Perez*, a Secular Priest, of great Learning, and exemplary Piety, and a most fervent Preacher, was brought out of the Inquisition, and burnt in the same Act of the Faith: Of all which glorious Martyrdoms, Charles Prince of Spain was a Spectator; who was afterwards privately put to death by his Father (as was commonly said) for his having discovered a strong Affection to the Protestant Faith.

Don

Don Carlos de Seso.

At an Act of Faith celebrated not long after, by the same Court of Inquisition, *Don Carlos de Seso*, a Nobleman of an Illustrious Family, with forty Protestants more, was brought out and burnt alive, professing the Protestant Religion; of whom, and of one *John Sancho*, who had been a Servant to *Don Peter Cazalla*, who was burnt at the same time with his Brother: The Writer of the *Historia Pontifical* saith, *That they endured being burnt alive, with a Courage that astonished all that beheld it.*

Donna Leonora de Cisneros.

Donna Leonora de Cisneros, the Widow of the Blessed Martyr *Herezulo*, after several Years Imprisonment in the Inquisition of *Valedolid*, was brought out and burnt alive; which painful Death she underwent with a courage nothing inferiour to that of her Husband: Of which blessed Couple, and *Don Carlos de Seso*, the Writer of the *Historia Pontifical* saith, *That they endured being burnt alive, as if they had been made of Stone, and not of Flesh and Blood.*

Soon after the Inquisition of *Valedolid* had made this terrible havock of the Church

Church of God within her Districts, that of *Sevil* broke in with no less Cruelty and Fury upon the Church of God gathered in that City, by the Ministry of Dr. *Egidio*, and Dr. *Constantino*, the Two great and shining Lights of *Spain*, and who before they were suspected of being Protestants, were universally acknowledged to be so.

Dr. *John Egidio* was first Rector of the University of *Complutum*, and from thence was called to be Doctor of the Chair in Divinity at *Ciquenca*, where he had not been long before he was chose Canon and Preacher of the Cathedral Church of *Sevil* by the Dean and Chapter of that City. In all which Posts, but particularly in the last, he behaved himself so well, that he was beloved and admired for his shining Piety, his profound Learning, and great Humility, by all that knew him, and by none more than by the Emperor *Charles V.* who us'd to call him his Preacher, and who, in the Year 1550, bestowed *Tortosa*, one of the Richest Bishopricks in all *Spain* upon him. But before this Great and Holy Man was Consecrated a Bishop, he was taken up by the Inquisition of *Sevil* for being a Protestant, and a Teacher of that Faith: When, or how he died in the Inquisition we know not, but it is certain, that some Years after he was apprehended, his Bones were brought out

out and burnt in an Act of the Faith Celebrated in that City, as the Bones of one who had died an impenitent Protestant Heretick. In a Letter written, and dated from Trent, on November 19, 1551, by a Titular Bishop, to the Bishop of Arras, it is said, *We hear from Spain, that the nominated Bishop of Tortosa, meaning Dr. Egidio, is Condemned by the Inquisition to Perpetual Imprisonment; I shall therefore, saith that Hungry Titular, be infinitely obliged to your Lordship, if you will be pleased to remember me, in case the Bishop of Elna be Translated to Tortosa, which is by this means become vacant.*

Don John Pontio de Leon.

On September 24, 1559, Don John Pontio de Leon, Son to Don Rodrigo, Conde of Baylen, was, with divers others professing the Protestant Faith, burnt at Sevil; these Blessed Martyrs were all converted to the Catholick Faith by that Learned Saint, Dr. Egidio, and did, both in their Lives, and at their Deaths, discover themselves to be Sons not unworthy of such a Ghottly Father. The Doctrines they suffered Martyrdom for Professing, were,

1. That the Worship of the Church of Rome was Idolatrous.
2. That the Pope was Anti-Christ.

3. *That Men were Justified by Faith, and not by Works.*

Dr. Constantino Pontio.

Dr. Constantino Pontio, Chaplain, and as some say, Confessor to the Emperor *Charles the V.* and Canon and Preacher of the Cathedral of *Sevil*, was, after that Prince's Resignation of his Crowns, and Retreat to *Spain*, taken up by the Inquisition of that City, as a Protestant Heretick; but he dying in the Prisons of the Inquisition, the Inquisitors best knew how; his Body with divers of his Books in Manuscript, were brought out and burnt in an Act of the Faith: Among his Books that were burnt, one bore the Title of, *An Account of the true Christian*, which he maintained the Protestant to be; and of *the Antichristian Church*, which he proved was the *Roman*. There was likewise among his Books a Treatise against *Purgatory* and *Indulgences*. A second Treatise against *Transubstantiation*, and a Third against the *Merit of good Works*.

This Learned Doctor was ordered by the Emperor to attend his Son, Prince *Philip*, in Quality of his Preacher, into *Flanders*, on purpose to let the *Flemings* see that *Spain*, at that time, was not without its polite Scholars and Orators. And so in the
Histo-

MARTYROLOGY. 567

History of the Prince's Voyage, Printed at Madrid, in Spanish, in the Year 1550. Doctor Constantino, his Preacher, is said to be, *The greatest Philosopher, the most profound Divine, and the most eloquent Preacher, that had been in Spain in many Ages.*

Which just Character of this great Saint was, after he was condemn'd as a Protestant by the Inquisition, by Order of the *Index Expurgatorius* blotted out of that History; and on this Passage the *Expurgator* of the Book, which is in my Hands, was so liberal of his Ink, that I had much ado to read it.

Here the Reader is to take notice, that among the other vile Arts practised by the Church of Rome, to support the Credit of her gross Errors, one is, that she will not allow any that have been her Adversaries, ever to have had any sort of Learning; as if it were not possible for any that had any Degree of Learning, to doubt of the Truth of any of her Doctrines. And so if in any of the Books permitted to be read by the *Index Expurgatorius*, Erasmus, Calvin, Scaliger, Grotius, Casaubon, or any other Protestant Writers, do happen to be honoured with the Title of Learned, that Title must be blotted out, as a thing that did not belong to them.

It is reported, that the Emperor *Charles* the Vth, when he heard of his Chaplain *Dr. Constantino* being taken up by the Inquisition, should say, *If Constantino be an Heretick, he is not an ordinary one*; alluding to his extraordinary Piety and Devotion, as well as Learning.

John Gonsalvo, a Secular Priest.

Father *John Gonsalvo*, a pious and fervent Preacher, who was likewise converted to the *Catholick Faith* by *Dr. Egidio*, was burnt at the same time and place with his dear and intimate Friend *Don John de Leon*; to which blessed Couple, what was said of *Saul* and *Jonathan*, may be properly apply'd; *They were pleasant and lovely in their Lives, and in their Deaths they were not divided.*

This blessed Saint, as he was going to the Stake, began to sing the *109th Psalm*, but being commanded to give over singing, he obey'd, well knowing, that if he had not, he should not have been permitted to speak a Word more. And having when he came to the Stake, observed, that one of his Sisters who was to be burnt with him, look'd much dejected, he cry'd out to her, *Be of good Courage, dear Sister, and keep the Faith.* But as he was going on with his Exhortation, the Officers ordered him to be strangled,
pre-

pretending, that he meant the Faith of the *Roman Church*. And thus Policy, when nothing else can, will make Inquisitors be merciful. For the Truth is, the Inquisitors finding the People much affected with the admirable Courage and Constancy of Mind wherewith the Protestant Martyrs did suffer the most painful of all Deaths, being burnt, or rather roasted alive, they began to fear the Consequence of entertaining them daily with such dangerous Spectacles: And for that reason, until those great Examples were pretty well forgot, they either strangled the Protest before they burnt them, pretending they had at the Stake desired to be reconciled to the *Roman Church*; or having died in the Inquisition, they burnt them in *Effigie*.

Juliano Fernando.

Juliano Fernando, who for his low Stature, and thin Body, was commonly called Little *Julian*, was taken up by the Inquisition of *Sevil*, for having imported and dispersed great Numbers of *Spanish* Bibles, which had been printed in *Germany*. And tho it is a hard Matter to know any thing that passeth within the Walls of the Inquisition, we are told by some that were in its Prisons at the same time with this Saint, that they once heard him, as he pass'd by
the

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the Doors of their Prisons, cry out, *Vencidos van los Frayles, vencidos van*, that is, *The Fryars are baffled, they are baffled*: And at another time, *Curridos van los lobos, curridos van*, that is, *The Wolves do flie, they do flie*. And in the Morning before he was to be burnt, meeting with a great Number of Protestants in the Hall where their flaming Habits were put on, he cry'd out to them, *Dear Brethren and Sisters, be of good Courage, and triumph over Death*. And having thereupon been gagg'd all Day, a certain Priest, whose Name was *Ferrando Rodriguez*, and who formerly had himself been well enclined to the Protestant Religion, when that Saint was brought to the Stake, desir'd he might be ungagg'd, boasting, that he should be able to perswade him to be reconciled to the *Romish Church*, which he was so far from being able to do, that that Saint, after he had with great Patience heard all that that Priest was able to say to him, answer'd him with a holy Zeal, *Thou Apostate, how darest thou, contrary to the Convictions of thy own Conscience, go about to perswade me to save my Life by abjuring the Truth?* With which severe Reproof that Apostate was so enraged, that he cry'd aloud, *Shall Spain, the Conqueror of Nations, have its Peace disturb'd by such a Dwarf as this?* Executioner, burn that incorrigible

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rigible Heretick ; which was done immediately ; one of the Officers that stood by, having, either out of Compassion or Fury, given him a deadly Blow on the Head with a Pole, amidst the Flames.

Father *John de Leon*.

John de Leon, a Monk of *St. Isidore*, in the City of *Sevil*, having been converted by Doctor *Egidio* to the Catholick Faith, did, with several more Monks of the same Monastery, who were likewise Protestants, make his Escape to *Franckfort* in *Germany* ; and not thinking himself safe there, he went to *Geneva*, and there remained, till Queen *Mary* of *England's* Death : When being invited by the *English* Refugees to go along with them to *England*, he kindly accepted of that Brotherly Invitation ; but having escaped the Traps which had been laid for him and the other *Spanish* Refugees, at *Cologne*, and other Places in *Germany*, he, and one *John Fernaidel*, another *Spanish* Confessor, were discover'd at *Middleburgh* in *Zealand*, which was then under the *Spanish* Dominion, as they were ready to have embark'd there for *England*.

And having been told by the Officer that seized him, That he was the Man he look'd for, he turn'd about to his Companion, and said,

said, *Come Brother, let us go; God calls us to suffer for his Gospel; if we do not forsake God, he will not forsake us.*

This Saint, after having been carried to Prison, and racked there, to make him discover the Places where the rest of the *Spanish* Refugees absconded themselves, was put aboard a Ship, which carry'd him to *Sevil*, having been kept in Chains, and gagg'd all the Voyage, but when he eat his Victuals, which was nothing but dry Bread and Water: He was likewise brought gagg'd out of the Inquisition, and so continued until he was burnt, without discovering any thing that look'd like Fear or Uneasiness.

Dr. Christopher Losada.

Christopher Losada, an eminent Physician, was burnt at the same time for being a Protestant, who, as all the rest did, suffered Death with a Joy and Unconcernedness that amazed all that beheld it.

I am apt to think, that the unhappy *Michael Servetus*, the most eminent Physician of his Age, was one of the *Spanish* Refugees of this Persecution. But where-ever that unhappy Man learnt the Heresies for which he was put to Death at *Geneva*, certain it is, that he did not bring them out of *Spain* with him; none that were put to Death

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Death in that Kingdom for being Protestants, having by their Adversaries ever been charged with any of his Heresies.

Christopher Aurelio.

Christopher Aurelio, an eminent School-Divine, who by reading the Scriptures had been converted to the *Catholick Faith*, was burnt in the same *Act of the Faith*, triumphing over Death as a conquer'd Enemy.

Garfias Arias.

Garfias Arias, a Monk of *St. Isidore*, who was commonly called *Dr. Blanco*, did, like *St. Paul*, of a violent Persecutor, turn a zealous Professor of the *Catholick Faith*, for the Testimony whereof he was burnt at *Sevil*, rejoicing that God had thought him worthy to suffer for so good a Cause. This Monastery of *St. Isidore* was the great *Seminary* of the *Protestant Religion* in *Spain*, five Monks having been taken out of it by the *Inquisition*, and burnt; and twelve having made their escape out of it, repaired to *Geneva*.

Ferdinando à Sancto Johanne.

Ferdinando à Sancto Johanne, who, though but a young Man when he was burnt, had
been

been eight Years a Professor of Humanity in St. *Isidore's* College in *Sevil*; he was a Person of great Zeal and Devotion, and was brought gagg'd out of the Inquisition, and continu'd so till he was burnt, praising God with his Eyes and Hands, not being permitted to praise him with his Lips.

Donna Maria Bohorquia.

Donna Maria Bohorquia, a young Lady of such admirable Knowledge and Piety, that Dr. *Egidio* did use to say, *That none could discourse with her of Divine Matters (and she did not care to talk of any other) without being made both wiser and better by her.* When she was but a Girl, she learnt Latin to be able to read the Bible, which in *Spain* was not at that time to be met with in any other Language; and having by indefatigable Study, in a short time acquired so much Skill in that Tongue, as to be able to hear the Divine Oracles speaking in it to her Conscience, she so apply'd her self to them, that she had the whole Bible almost by heart; neither did she, after she had once tasted of that, ever care to read in any other Book. When she was brought out of the Inquisition to be burnt, with a heavenly Joy spread all over her Countenance, she began to sing Praises to God, with a most melodious

dious Voice; and having, when forbid, refus'd to give over singing, she was gagg'd, and continu'd so till she was brought to the Stake. But the Fryars dreading the ill Effects her Example, both in her Life, and at her Death, might have on the Minds of the People, if they believed her to die a Protestant, cry'd out after she was fasten'd to the Stake, *She is converted, and desires before she dies, to be reconciled to the Church of Rome.* And so pretending to give her Absolution, she was immediately strangled, and burnt.

There were a great many more Women, and several of them of high Quality, burnt at this time, both at *Valedolid*, and at *Sévil*, for being Protestants; who being all learned in the Scriptures, the Inquisitors, who are all utter Strangers to those Divine Books, were not able to discourse with them about the Truths revealed in those Oracles of God. This provoked *Paramus*, a furious *Spanish* Inquisitor, to declaim vehemently against Women's being suffered to read the Bible, and against the Protestant Religion likewise, for permitting Women, contrary to *St. Paul's* Prohibition, to speak in their publick Assemblies of Worship. As if Women that study'd the Scriptures could not forbear to take the Ministerial Office upon them; and as if the Protestant
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Religion, when they are so qualify'd, did allow them to do it; whereas, in truth, no People are so far from assuming any of the Ministerial Functions, as those who are most conversant in the Scriptures, which do expressly condemn that Presumption; neither did any of the *Spanish* Protestant Laity, Men or Women, ever take upon them to preach in the Assemblies of their Worship, nor did any of their Teachers ever allow the doing of it to be lawful. But thus the Inquisitors, as I have observed, do make no Conscience of calumniating those they burn, and of loading the Religion for which they suffer, with unjust, and many times, inconsistent Reproaches.

The blessed Saints I have here named, tho they were the Leaders, were for Number but a small part of that glorious Army of *Spanish* Protestant Martyrs, burnt at this time by the Inquisition, who for the exemplary Piety of their Lives, and the admirable Patience and Courage wherewith they triumphed over Death, in the most terrible of all its Shapes, were nothing inferiour to the Martyrs of any other Nation in any Age.



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